JUL 28 1928

DA 447 .P4 A6 1926 v.1

Pepys, Samuel, 1633-1703.

Private correspondence and miscellaneous papers

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_Y0-ACB-104_1

# PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS OF SAMUEL PEPYS

1679–1703

*Samuel Pepys*
*from a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller*
*in the possession of J. Pepys Cockerell Esq.*

# PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS OF SAMUEL PEPYS

1679–1703

IN THE POSSESSION OF J. PEPYS COCKERELL

EDITED BY

J. R. TANNER, Litt.D.
FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

VOL. I

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

NEW YORK
HARCOURT BRACE AND COMPANY

JUL 28 1928

B
P398ct
17714
v.1

26-13039

Printed in Great Britain by
NEILL & CO., LTD., EDINBURGH.

# CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION . . . . . vii–xliv

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS, APRIL 1679 TO JUNE 1700 . . . . . 1–382

FRONTISPIECE

SAMUEL PEPYS (from a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the possession of J. Pepys Cockerell, Esq.).

# INTRODUCTION

The Pepys Cockerell Collection contains 530 documents, most of which are letters written or received by Samuel Pepys. The earliest is dated April 14, 1679, just before his resignation of the office of Secretary of the Admiralty and his imprisonment in the Tower, and the series ends with his death in 1703. Over this period of 24 years they are very unequally distributed. For the 20 years 1679–98 there are 101 papers; the year 1699 alone supplies 65; the year 1700 no less than 221; and the years 1701, 1702, and 1703 are represented by 81, 37, and 16 documents respectively. The last 9 papers, which are of later date and have nothing to do with Pepys, have here been relegated to an Appendix.

A few of the letters have been printed in Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence*, and others in the *Academy* for 1890. No less than 67 were included by Lord Braybrooke in his Appendix to the 1848 and 1854 editions of the *Diary*, but from a modern point of view his editorial method leaves much to be desired. Sentences, paragraphs, and even whole pages are omitted without the slightest indication that the letters are not being printed in full; passages are condensed without anything to shew that the condensed form is not the original text; and sometimes the effect of the omissions is disguised by tampering with the grammatical structure of the letters themselves. If Pepys alludes, with the undraped candour of his age, to the symptoms of his illnesses or to portions of his anatomy, his editor (with a blush) substitutes Early Victorian evasions, and puts words into his mouth which neither he nor his contemporaries would ever have dreamed of using; and, what is worse, he gives his readers no hint that he has subjected his victim to this kind of bowdlerisation. The result is

a text that cannot be relied upon, and this justifies the inclusion in the present volumes of a fresh edition of these letters. Lord Braybrooke expands contractions and modernises punctuation, spelling, and the use of capitals. The present editor has followed him except in the matter of spelling, reproducing that of the original except where it might set up a misunderstanding in the mind of the reader. Thus the printed text substitutes *whether* for *whither*, *than* for *then*, *of* for *off*, *lose* for *loose*, and *aught* for *ought*; and it does not follow the practice of making *u* and *v* interchangeable. With these exceptions, the MS. is printed exactly as it stands.

In binding up the letters and papers into the four volumes which constitute the Collection, the difference between the Old and New Styles was ignored, most of the letters from abroad being inserted 10 or 11 days later than they ought to have been; and as the binder also failed to take into account the peculiarity of the English year, which in Pepys's time began on March 25, a few of the letters have been assigned to the wrong year altogether. In the printed text the documents are rearranged by the dates of the Old Style, so as to ensure a strict chronological order.

The Collection furnishes the biographer of Pepys with a mass of valuable material. It opens with the important correspondence of 1679 between Pepys and James, Duke of York,[1] which explains the circumstances leading up to his surrender of the office of Secretary of the Admiralty (i. 1–11). A little later we have an account by an eye-witness of James II's final withdrawal from Whitehall on December 18, 1688; and this is followed by three documents which disclose an entirely new biographical fact. It has long been known that in 1690 Pepys was imprisoned in the Gatehouse,[2] and historians have found it difficult to understand why an official who was so

[1] This has been printed already by Lord Braybrooke, but his version is not very accurate. For instance, he makes Pepys refer to "this odious Secretaryship" when what he really wrote was "this invidious Secretaryship," an expression very much more appropriate to the particular circumstances which he was describing.

[2] The Collection contains a copy of the Order of the Council, dated July 14, 1690, for his liberation on a medical certificate (i. 32).

closely associated with the exiled James should have been left undisturbed by the new Government for more than a year after he had ceased to hold office. But we now learn from a copy of the warrant which Pepys carefully preserved, that on May 4, 1689, "Samuell Pepps," Esquire, Sir Anthony Deane, and "Mr Hewers" were ordered to be committed to the custody of Isaac Cotton, one of the Messengers of the Privy Chamber, as "suspected of dangerous and tresonable practices" (i. 27). A letter from Mr James Vernon, Shrewsbury's private secretary, dated June 15, informs Pepys that he is to be liberated upon bail (i. 28); and the Messenger's receipt for £14 13*s.* 4*d.* for his fees shews that the three were in his custody for 42 days—from May 5 to June 15, 1689 (i. 28).

The correspondence also enables us to trace the progress of Pepys's projected History of the Navy. The inception of the scheme belongs to the period of the *Diary*, and it was then that he began collecting materials.[1] He regarded the enterprise quite seriously, and devoted a whole folio volume to MS. notes concerning it.[2] After his final retirement in 1689 he was supposed by his friends to be actively engaged upon it. As early as 1681 Evelyn had referred to "the noble and usefull worke you are meditating" (i. 15), and fifteen years later he returns to the subject on a note of disappointment. "I feare to aske," he writes on December 3, 1696,

> "what progresse you make towards finishing your noble and most desierable work, which none but you can pretend to. Will you never let us see it 'til perfect according to your scale? . . . Time flies a pace, my friend. 'Tis evening with us; do not expect perfection on this side of life. If it be the very best, as I am sure it is, nothing can be better; no man out-throws you" (i. 134).

In October 1699, only three years and a half before his death, Pepys, who had hitherto been collecting materials, began to think of putting pen to paper, hoping "shortly to bee at liberty to goe about relateing to my navall speculations and applications, at least garbling of all my collections and papers

[1] On this project see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys*, pp. 279-81.

[2] The volume in the Pepysian Library entitled *Naval Minutes*, about to be published by the Navy Records Society.

præparative thereto" (i. 201). The great book was never written, but a smaller one, *Memoires of the Royal Navy*, saw the light in 1690. Before he made up his mind to publish, the author read it all through to his friend Evelyn, who received it with enthusiasm (i. 29), and amused himself by writing out a formal certificate of its merits (i. 31).

The documents also go some way towards clearing Pepys of the charge, so often made against him, of borrowing Evelyn's papers without the intention of returning them. On December 6, 1681, Evelyn sent Pepys, at his request, a quantity of papers bearing on the history of the Navy (i. 14–20), and included among them the MS. of his own History of theDutch War, with an account of the circumstances in which it was written; and in the following year he furnished him with some of the materials which he had used,—"all my blotted fragments which . . . I had collected in order to a further progresse" in it (i. 21). "It is not imaginable," he adds, "to such as have not tried, what labour an historian (that would be exact) is condemned to. He must reade all, good and bad, and remove a world of rubbish before he can lay the foundation." Evelyn's MS. is lost, but it was not Pepys who lost it. This "treasure of papers" was retained by him for ten years, but a letter of March 28, 1692, shews that he was fully alive to his indebtedness, and was then on the point of making restitution (i. 56). Evelyn's History of the Dutch War is specially mentioned, and it is probable that all the borrowed papers were returned, and this among them; at any rate, there is no trace of it in the Pepysian Library. If Pepys had intended to keep them, he would not of his own accord have raised the question, and having raised it, there was no reason why restitution should not have been made.

It is curious to find Evelyn referring to another lost MS. of his own, a "discourse wherein I did attempt to shew how far a gentleman might become very knowing, and to good purpose, by the onely assistance of the modern languages, . . . nor was it without purpose of one day publishing it, not for ostentation, but because 'twas written with a virtuous designe of provoking the Court *fopps*" (i. 16).

The letters in this Collection which were exchanged between Pepys and Evelyn have a peculiar charm, and some of them have never been printed. Of the two, Evelyn had the better intellectual equipment. He pours out literary and classical allusions in his somewhat involved and contorted style, and Pepys, labouring after him at a considerable distance, imitates the contortions without being able to reproduce the decorative effects. But the letters of both are profoundly interesting, and they prove that the polite acquaintance of earlier years had ripened into "a constant and generous friendship" (i. 342). Evelyn discourses learnedly on the history of engraving (i. 33), and sends his friend a contribution to his collection of "heads." He communicates to Pepys his opinion of Philip de Comines, and describes the maxims of the Marquise de Sablé as "thick of very noble thoughts" (i. 133–4). The friends agree in eulogising Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, which Evelyn had read with "incredible satisfaction" (ii. 301), and Pepys had gone through three times, coming from the third reading "with the same appetite . . . to a 4th" that ever he had to the first (ii. 266). On September 2, 1694, Evelyn writes to Pepys "upon a late reflection of his upon the excessive number of books mankind is unnecessarily burthened with for the short time hee has to worke therewith," and wishes that some benefactor to the race would "give us such a catalogue of authors as were onely, and absolutely, and fully effectual to the attaining of such a competency of practical, usefull, and speculative knowledge too, as one might hope to benefit by within the ordinarie circles of one's life, without being bewildered and quite out of the way when one should be gotten home" (i. 100–1). He meditates in the country upon "the scantinesse, mutabillity, and little satisfaction of the things of this world" (ii. 38): "Let you and I therefore settle our necessary affaires, and pray we may not be surprized; an easy, comfortable passage is that which remaines for us to beg of God, and for the rest to sit loose to things below" (ii. 39). Both the old men took a gloomy view of the age in which they lived. On December 10, 1701, in a letter written in "this smoaky, obstreperous Citty" (ii. 237), and beginning, "My

deare, worthy, and constant Freind," Evelyn reflects thus upon the corruption of the times :—

" For as since the Incarnation, Europ has perhaps never suffered the like concussions, so never was this Nation (which is all the World to us) so atheistical, false, and un-steady ; covetous, selfe intrested, impudently detracting and uncharitable ; ingratefull, lewd, and luxurious ; in summe, so universaly vitious, dissolute, and perverted ; that I am not solicitous of being thought a visionary or enthusiast when as oft as I reflect on the prædictions our Blessed Lord and his Apostles fore-tell shall be the præcursors of the last and worst of times which I think are coming upon us " (ii. 238).

Next to Evelyn among Pepys's intimate friends comes his cousin Dr Thomas Gale, High Master of St Paul's School and afterwards Dean of York. If Evelyn had called his country retreat " your Paradisian Clapham " (ii. 299), it was Gale who had referred to Pepys's London home as " that Paradise which lookes into the Thames near the Water-gate in York-buildings " (i. 170) ; and when he himself went to live at York, he wrote, " Among many causes which I have to repent my removeall from London, none oftener occureth than that I parted with the sweet conversation of soe sure, soe suitable a friend " (i. 352). It is in one of Gale's letters that we find the first suggestion of the dispositions which were afterwards to benefit Pepys's old College at Cambridge : " When you shall thinck fitt to make your last Will and Setlements, I beg of you that you would be pleased to put all your rare collections (of which you have many) into some one good hand " (i. 364).

Like Evelyn and Gale, the other more intimate friends of Pepys were all lovers of learning. Dr Thomas Smith the non-juring divine was Keeper of the Cottonian Library. Dr Arthur Charlett, with whom the exchange of letters was frequent, was Master of University College, Oxford, and contributed largely to the publication of the learned works of other men. Captain Hatton was an omnivorous collector, who commissioned Pepys's nephew, John Jackson, to buy books for him in Rome, and sent him on a wild-goose chase after the " *lapis fungifer*, or stone that produces mushromes "

(ii. 86). Dr George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, who ministered to him in his last illness and officiated at his burial, was one of the last of the nonjuring bishops. To two other younger scholars of distinction Pepys is in the relation of patron as well as friend. On April 15, 1695, we find him, at the instance of Dr Charlett, writing to introduce to the Cottonian Library a youth "whose outside would not lead you to expect such an errand from him, his education alsoe bespeaking it as little, as having been bredd at Coventry in a trade not apt to give any occasion for it," but "by a strange bent of nature hee has spontaneously given himselfe up to the love of antiquitys and looking into records" (i. 104). This was Humfrey Wanley the famous palaeographer, who was afterwards to acquire a European reputation. Three weeks later Pepys wrote a charming letter of acknowledgment and counsel to Thomas Tanner, afterwards Bishop of St Asaph, who had just presented him with a copy of his *Notitia Monastica* (i. 105); and in the following year his influence was used in support of Tanner's election to a Fellowship at All Souls (i. 128, 131).

If Pepys found friends among both his contemporaries and his juniors, he discovered them also among his seniors, and of this his reciprocated affection for Dr John Wallis, the most famous of the Oxford mathematicians, is the best illustration. In 1695 Wallis presented Pepys with a copy of his works (i. 107); in 1698 he addressed to him a long and learned disquisition "relating to some supposed imperfections in an organ" (i. 155–65) which was afterwards printed; and in 1699 he wrote him a description of the eclipse of September 13 as it appeared at Oxford (i. 188), supplementing this a fortnight later by an experience of his own in a fog on the Thames (i. 209–12) which enabled him to realise the difficulties of the ancients, "who, in the wide sea, without sight of land, had no help from sun, moon, or stars to direct their course, when as the magnetick helps were not yet known." In 1699 Dr Wallis was beginning to complain of "decays," saying "83 is an incurable distemper" (i. 175), although his friend Dr Charlett remarked, "I beleive Death will no more surprise

him than a proposition in Mathematicks"; and Pepys's "esteem and veneration" for the old man eventually led him, "towards immortalizing the memory of the person (for his name can never dye) of that great man and my most honoured friend," to offer his portrait, "though a Cambridge-man," to "my dear Aunt the University of Oxford" (ii. 257). Sir Godfrey Kneller was commissioned to visit Oxford for the purpose; "the paynter's fancy was warm, and his imaginations not to be controled . . . with delays" (ii. 268); and the picture, which was hung in the Bodleian Gallery, next to the portrait of Sir Henry Savile, the founder of Wallis's Professorship (ii. 269), was "admirably done" (ii. 268), and its distinguished subject talked "very fondly" of it (ii. 262). He acknowledged "that noble present" in a letter of great simplicity and dignity (ii. 276), and the University also did its part by granting to the donor a Latin Diploma (ii. 280–2) drawn up by the Public Orator (ii. 286). In this the phrase occurs, *Tu certè Ligneis Muris Britanniam munivisti* (ii. 281), which John Jackson translated, "You have truly encompassed Brittain with woodden Walls" (ii. 283).

Outside the circle of his more intimate friends, Pepys corresponded upon a great variety of subjects with distinguished men. Of these the most eminent was Isaac Newton, of whom he enquired concerning the doctrine of chances. Newton wrote him three long letters on the subject (i. 74, 78, and 89), and the question was taken up by one of Pepys's friends, who intervened when he was "upon the very brink of a wager 10*l.* deep" (i. 91), and made him draw back upon strictly mathematical grounds. Another group of letters of extraordinary interest, not hitherto printed in its entirety, is that relating to the second sight in the Highlands of Scotland. The correspondence was conducted by Pepys with Lord Reay,[1] Dr Hickes,[2] the Earl of Clarendon,[3] and Dr Smith.[4] He discusses with Sir Peter Pett the lawyer "the par of our ancient and moderne coine, both as to its intrinsick

[1] i. 189, 213–25, 240–3.
[2] i. 367–76, ii. 29–31.
[3] ii. 1–2, 13–14, 222–4.
[4] ii. 7–10, 24–5.

value and value for use" (i. 52), and Pett writes him a long letter (i. 112–16) in which he enquires about the source of his motto, *Mens cujusque is est quisque*,[1] and incidentally discloses the fact that at one time both Robert Boyle and Sir Christopher Wren had interested themselves in the theory of shipbuilding. He also sends him a copy of the Oath of the Roman Senators, with a translation "by Mr Mole, a famous man of King's College in Cambridge" (i. 116). Sir Henry Shere, the military engineer, bestowed on Pepys "a present of country fare,"—"a barne door turky, with eggs and a chine of bacon" (i. 53), and later on he submitted for his criticism the MS. of "a new hypothesis of his, touching the diurnal motion of the Earth" (i. 135). John Houghton also, the writer on agriculture and trade, furnished him for his collections with a copy of his "Political-Arithmetical Account of the People and Coin of France" (ii. 263). References to "our Saturday's Academists" (i. 94) and the Saturday "conversations" prove that Pepys still entertained the more distinguished members of the Royal Society once a week in York Buildings, and when these meetings were discontinued in consequence of his migration to Clapham, Evelyn wrote on January 20, 1703, "I feede on the past conversation I once had in York Buildings, and sterve since my friend have forsaken it" (ii. 302).

A few of the *obiter dicta* of Pepys's learned correspondents should perhaps be noted. Dr Wallis, writing to acknowledge the "generosity and innate goodness" which had expressed itself in the gift of his portrait, says, "Great men will do great things" (ii. 276). The Master of Balliol commits himself to a statement which would have come more naturally from a Cambridge Head, that "the Mathematicks" is "the usefull part of learning" (ii. 275). Dr Smith, in a letter to Pepys about the second sight, observes "that wisedome founded upon experience and a just and serious observation of things is a kind of divination, and that the prudent man who makes a good and true use of the eyes which hee has in his head, usually

[1] This is explained in a letter of December 23, 1690, from Pepys to Hewer (i. 38).

lives next doore to the prophet" (ii. 9). "I will not despare," writes John Houghton, "but that once in a thousand years it may come among statesmen to be considered whether there may not be a better way for one kingdome to humble another than by killing the people; and that I am strongly perswaded may be don, and with more honour, than will any where be gaind by war in this century" (ii. 265). Captain Hatton, whó had lost some documents in a kind of minor spring-cleaning, lamented to Pepys the "mischevous spruceness" of the "woemen" of his house, and pronounced them "worser enemyes to papers than ratts or mice" (ii. 61).

A study of the letters written by Pepys and his friends induces the melancholy reflection that in our own day letter-writing is a lost art. The dignified and touching terms in which Pepys condoles with the Houblon family upon "the losse of my most deare and worthy friend your most honoured father Sir James Houblon, one of the longest as well as most approved friends till now left mee in the world" (ii. 105), are beyond our imitation. No modern master of English by taking careful thought could surpass the stately acknowledgment of the Oxford Diploma which came easily and spontaneously from Pepys's pen in the course of ordinary correspondence with his friend Dr Charlett (ii. 286). Yet even these ceremonious letter-writers were sometimes betrayed into bathos, as in the respectful message which John Jackson conveys to his uncle from Rome on behalf of his servant Paris: "Hee arrived yesterday from Naples by sea, and was not a little delighted with the tidings of his having a daughter, beggs your acceptance of his humble duty, and (with your leave) blesses her" (i. 303).

Like his friends John Evelyn and Captain Hatton, Pepys was a collector. He buys prints, especially the "heads" of famous or notorious persons;[1] title-pages and frontispieces;[2] "copy-books."[3] He commissions his nephew when abroad to

[1] i. 34–6, 71–2.
[2] i. 180–1, 197, 200, 229, 245, 248; ii. 3.
[3] i. 198, 249, 273, 286, 287.

purchase for him a few prints, "but those very good ones only," of "public processions, cavalcades, canonisations, or any other solemnities extraordinary relating to the Church, antiquities, or town of Rome" (i. 287); as also rare or interesting books.[1] He asks for "religious prints, and in particular of habits, in your passage through Spain and Portugal, where I fancy the biggotry of those nations may lead them to abound therein" (ii. 3), and he desires "above all things" a print of a bull-fight (ii. 179). Pepys took infinite pleasure in the results of these "Roman markettings" (ii. 241), and his friend Captain Hatton describes them as "the great and noble addition made to the unparalelled treasury in your incomparable Musæum" (ii. 75). Arrangements were made with correspondents at Rome and Naples for further purchases of "books, etc." (i. 299, 310); and a French bookseller in London kept him informed of works in that language which happened to be for sale (ii. 106). Dr Gale calls his attention to "the famous Roll of King Edward 3rd to be purchased" (i. 139–42), and Archdeacon Baynard sends him a copy of an "authentick" document in case it may be welcome to him (ii. 285). Trinity College, Cambridge, recognising his reputation as a "virtuoso," lends him from the College Library a manuscript in the handwriting of Erasmus, the gift of Hugh Peters the regicide, (i. 339, 345), a confidence which was not misplaced, as it was returned within the month (i. 381; ii. 5).

Nor was it only in the capacity of a collector that Pepys manifested his insatiable curiosity and the wide range of his intellectual interests. He arranged with Evelyn to discuss prophecy with Dr William Lloyd, the visionary Bishop of St Asaph (i. 33); he assisted at an experiment to test the remarkable memory of Mr Meheux (i. 153–5); and he investigated the art of very minute writing as practised by "one Dundasse, a Scotch man," who was invited to copy a specimen in the Bodleian which shewed "the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandements, the 4 first verses of St John's Gospell, Queen Elisabeth's name, and the author's (all in Latin), and the Yeare of God, written in little (if any

[1] i. 288, 294, 301, 320.

at all) more roome than a fayre milled single penny, or much lesse than a 2 pence at the most" (ii. 272). He also found time to take an active interest in the affairs of Christ's Hospital (i. 204), of which he was a candid critic, being "daily exercised" with "discomposures" from the "villainous methods" employed there (i. 207), until "the ill state and worse government" of the place made him "a stranger to it and its affairs" (ii. 33). In June 1700 Pepys reported to the authorities of the University of Oxford in favour of Wanley's "Proposition of a general Survey to be taken of all the present publick Libraries of Europe" (i. 366); and in November of the same year he undertook to examine a scheme drawn up by Dr David Gregory, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, for a new method of teaching Mathematics (ii. 91–4, 107–11). This scheme, which constitutes an episode of extraordinary interest in the history of education, proposed to establish a system which seems almost indistinguishable from Cambridge mathematical coaching in Dr Routh's day, except that it was to be conducted by a Professor. The comments of Pepys are characteristic. The scheme commended itself to him as

"primarily destined to the service and improvement of the youth of our nobility and gentry, the choicest and once brightest ornament of our nation, and which, if now otherwise (as they indeed seem most to complain whom I take to have most to answer for it) would still be so, were they not (as I fear they at this day mostly are) too soon betrayed to the more gross, contagious, and destructive pleasures waiting them without doors, for want of an early institution in the variety of generous exercises and accomplishments you are here preparing for them; pleasant in the acquiring; easy in the retaining; ever usefull; ever delightfull; suited to the dignity of their characters and fortunes; and (to crown all) lying alwayes within their own reach, fitted for self-entertainment and home-execution" (ii. 108).

He observed, however, two omissions in Gregory's plan. "First, *Musick*, a science peculiarly productive of a pleasure that no state of life, publick or private, secular or sacred; no difference of age or season; no temper of mind or condition of health exempt from present anguish; nor, lastly, distinc-

tion of quality, renders either improper, untimely, or unentertaining" (ii. 109). The other omission was Perspective. In connexion with these it is interesting to note the re-emergence in 1700 of that devoted loyalty to the founder of his fortunes, the first Earl of Sandwich, which appears so often in the *Diary*. He recommends Music on the ground that without the "actual solace" of it his noble kinsman had not passed "one entire day through all his different scenes of life at land and sea, to the very hour wherein through a sea of blood and fire in the service of his Prince and country, he exchanged it for that of a State of Harmony more unspeakable and full of glory" (ii. 111). And he urges the study of Perspective because Lord Sandwich had made with his own hand "surveys and descriptions relating to his private estate and buildings, with other publick views both at home and abroad on shore: as draughts, plats, and charts of coasts, harbours, and ports . . . performed to his peculiar honour and lasting benefit of his country during his vacancies at sea."

In addition to letters, the Pepys Cockerell Collection includes a certain number of interesting documents. Among those of Pepys's own compilation we have his "Notes touching the Navall Strength of England employed in the Spanish Invasion" of 1588 (ii. 244); a memorandum "on the Conditions of a Private Library" (ii. 247); a list of "Works of Publick Utility and Charity least subject to Corruption or Abuse in their Execution" (ii. 294); and "Home-notes for myself to attend when able" (i. 165–7),—the last a careful and methodical list of things to be done, written in his own hand, with matters already dealt with crossed out, giving incidentally a more minute account of some of his various interests than occurs elsewhere.

The documents from other sources collected by Pepys include a copy of the Codicil to Robert Boyle's Will establishing the Boyle Lectures (i. 48–9); papers by Edmund Halley the astronomer, and John Houghton the writer on agriculture and trade, on the acreage of England and Wales (i. 39–45);

lives next doore to the prophet" (ii. 9). "I will not despare," writes John Houghton, "but that once in a thousand years it may come among statesmen to be considered whether there may not be a better way for one kingdome to humble another than by killing the people; and that I am strongly perswaded may be don, and with more honour, than will any where be gaind by war in this century" (ii. 265). Captain Hatton, who had lost some documents in a kind of minor spring-cleaning, lamented to Pepys the "mischevous spruceness" of the "woemen" of his house, and pronounced them "worser enemyes to papers than ratts or mice" (ii. 61).

A study of the letters written by Pepys and his friends induces the melancholy reflection that in our own day letter-writing is a lost art. The dignified and touching terms in which Pepys condoles with the Houblon family upon "the losse of my most deare and worthy friend your most honoured father Sir James Houblon, one of the longest as well as most approved friends till now left mee in the world" (ii. 105), are beyond our imitation. No modern master of English by taking careful thought could surpass the stately acknowledgment of the Oxford Diploma which came easily and spontaneously from Pepys's pen in the course of ordinary correspondence with his friend Dr Charlett (ii. 286). Yet even these ceremonious letter-writers were sometimes betrayed into bathos, as in the respectful message which John Jackson conveys to his uncle from Rome on behalf of his servant Paris: "Hee arrived yesterday from Naples by sea, and was not a little delighted with the tidings of his having a daughter, beggs your acceptance of his humble duty, and (with your leave) blesses her" (i. 303).

Like his friends John Evelyn and Captain Hatton, Pepys was a collector. He buys prints, especially the "heads" of famous or notorious persons;[1] title-pages and frontispieces;[2] "copy-books."[3] He commissions his nephew when abroad to

[1] i. 34–6, 71–2.
[2] i. 180–1, 197, 200, 229, 245, 248; ii. 3.
[3] i. 198, 249, 273, 286, 287.

purchase for him a few prints, "but those very good ones only," of "public processions, cavalcades, canonisations, or any other solemnities extraordinary relating to the Church, antiquities, or town of Rome" (i. 287); as also rare or interesting books.[1] He asks for "religious prints, and in particular of habits, in your passage through Spain and Portugal, where I fancy the biggotry of those nations may lead them to abound therein" (ii. 3), and he desires "above all things" a print of a bull-fight (ii. 179). Pepys took infinite pleasure in the results of these "Roman markettings" (ii. 241), and his friend Captain Hatton describes them as "the great and noble addition made to the unparalelled treasury in your incomparable Musæum" (ii. 75). Arrangements were made with correspondents at Rome and Naples for further purchases of "books, etc." (i. 299, 310); and a French bookseller in London kept him informed of works in that language which happened to be for sale (ii. 106). Dr Gale calls his attention to "the famous Roll of King Edward 3rd to be purchased" (i. 139–42), and Archdeacon Baynard sends him a copy of an "authentick" document in case it may be welcome to him (ii. 285). Trinity College, Cambridge, recognising his reputation as a "virtuoso," lends him from the College Library a manuscript in the handwriting of Erasmus, the gift of Hugh Peters the regicide, (i. 339, 345), a confidence which was not misplaced, as it was returned within the month (i. 381; ii. 5).

Nor was it only in the capacity of a collector that Pepys manifested his insatiable curiosity and the wide range of his intellectual interests. He arranged with Evelyn to discuss prophecy with Dr William Lloyd, the visionary Bishop of St Asaph (i. 33); he assisted at an experiment to test the remarkable memory of Mr Meheux (i. 153–5); and he investigated the art of very minute writing as practised by "one Dundasse, a Scotch man," who was invited to copy a specimen in the Bodleian which shewed "the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandements, the 4 first verses of St John's Gospell, Queen Elisabeth's name, and the author's (all in Latin), and the Yeare of God, written in little (if any

[1] i. 288, 294, 301, 320.

at all) more roome than a fayre milled single penny, or much lesse than a 2 pence at the most" (ii. 272). He also found time to take an active interest in the affairs of Christ's Hospital (i. 204), of which he was a candid critic, being "daily exercised" with "discomposures" from the "villainous methods" employed there (i. 207), until "the ill state and worse government" of the place made him "a stranger to it and its affairs" (ii. 33). In June 1700 Pepys reported to the authorities of the University of Oxford in favour of Wanley's "Proposition of a general Survey to be taken of all the present publick Libraries of Europe" (i. 366); and in November of the same year he undertook to examine a scheme drawn up by Dr David Gregory, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, for a new method of teaching Mathematics (ii. 91–4, 107–11). This scheme, which constitutes an episode of extraordinary interest in the history of education, proposed to establish a system which seems almost indistinguishable from Cambridge mathematical coaching in Dr Routh's day, except that it was to be conducted by a Professor. The comments of Pepys are characteristic. The scheme commended itself to him as

"primarily destined to the service and improvement of the youth of our nobility and gentry, the choicest and once brightest ornament of our nation, and which, if now otherwise (as they indeed seem most to complain whom I take to have most to answer for it) would still be so, were they not (as I fear they at this day mostly are) too soon betrayed to the more gross, contagious, and destructive pleasures waiting them without doors, for want of an early institution in the variety of generous exercises and accomplishments you are here preparing for them; pleasant in the acquiring; easy in the retaining; ever usefull; ever delightfull; suited to the dignity of their characters and fortunes; and (to crown all) lying alwayes within their own reach, fitted for self-entertainment and home-execution" (ii. 108).

He observed, however, two omissions in Gregory's plan. "First, *Musick*, a science peculiarly productive of a pleasure that no state of life, publick or private, secular or sacred; no difference of age or season; no temper of mind or condition of health exempt from present anguish; nor, lastly, distinc-

tion of quality, renders either improper, untimely, or unentertaining" (ii. 109). The other omission was Perspective. In connexion with these it is interesting to note the reemergence in 1700 of that devoted loyalty to the founder of his fortunes, the first Earl of Sandwich, which appears so often in the *Diary*. He recommends Music on the ground that without the "actual solace" of it his noble kinsman had not passed "one entire day through all his different scenes of life at land and sea, to the very hour wherein through a sea of blood and fire in the service of his Prince and country, he exchanged it for that of a State of Harmony more unspeakable and full of glory" (ii. 111). And he urges the study of Perspective because Lord Sandwich had made with his own hand "surveys and descriptions relating to his private estate and buildings, with other publick views both at home and abroad on shore: as draughts, plats, and charts of coasts, harbours, and ports . . . performed to his peculiar honour and lasting benefit of his country during his vacancies at sea."

In addition to letters, the Pepys Cockerell Collection includes a certain number of interesting documents. Among those of Pepys's own compilation we have his "Notes touching the Navall Strength of England employed in the Spanish Invasion" of 1588 (ii. 244); a memorandum "on the Conditions of a Private Library" (ii. 247); a list of "Works of Publick Utility and Charity least subject to Corruption or Abuse in their Execution" (ii. 294); and "Home-notes for myself to attend when able" (i. 165–7),—the last a careful and methodical list of things to be done, written in his own hand, with matters already dealt with crossed out, giving incidentally a more minute account of some of his various interests than occurs elsewhere.

The documents from other sources collected by Pepys include a copy of the Codicil to Robert Boyle's Will establishing the Boyle Lectures (i. 48–9); papers by Edmund Halley the astronomer, and John Houghton the writer on agriculture and trade, on the acreage of England and Wales (i. 39–45);

the method of John Locke the philosopher "for digesting a Common-place Book" (i. 146); Richard Gibson's Memorial of 1693 on the state of the Navy (i. 118–26); the Reasons of the Protesting Lords against the Oath of Abjuration in 1702 (ii. 252–3); and the striking speech of Sir Thomas Trevor the Attorney-General on the case of Mr Charles Duncombe, delivered in the House of Commons on February 28, 1698 (i. 147–52), with its admirable exposition of the abuses of *ex post facto* legislation, and the need of maintaining a distinction between the function of the executive and the legislative power.

The correspondence also contains a good many references to current politics. Mr Joseph Hill, the Fellow of Magdalene who had once admonished Pepys when he was an undergraduate for being "overseen in drink," sends him from Rotterdam, where he was now minister of the English Presbyterian Church, an account of the European political situation in November 1697 (i. 142–5). His nephew reports from Rome, in December 1699, on the illness of Pope Innocent XII (i. 258), and observes later that "for that reason the administration of the Government said to be so loose that frequent insolencies and murders are committed in the streets by night, without redress" (i. 274), adding to his account of the public Benediction on April 6, 1700 (O.S.), "The poor old man lookt very thin and pale and weak, yet seemed to smile and take so much content in the performance of the Office and the people's reception of it as, 'tis thought, will prolong his life for some years extraordinary" (i. 314). The case of the Bishop of St David's (i. 250), the agitation in the House of Commons against Lord Chancellor Somers and Charles Montagu the financier (i. 306, 332, 334), the Bill of Resumption of the forfeited Irish estates (i. 321), and the resignation of the Duke of Shrewsbury (ii. 2) are referred to; as also the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, falsely ascribed to small-pox (ii. 28, 57), the expectations aroused by Queen Anne's accession to the throne (ii. 260–2), and the belief among the Nonjurors that the Prince of Wales was a suppositious child (ii. 261). Matthew Prior,

at this time Secretary to the Embassy at Paris, is seen moving mysteriously across the stage (i. 198, 227, 276), and Dr Shadwell notes that his *Carmen Seculare for the Year* 1700 " has mett with applause generally in England, but there are critiques who think, considering the time it has been upon the stocks and the different climates it has seen, it might have been more perfect " (i. 344). There are also references to Dryden's death and burial (i. 334, 344, 349).

Among the more miscellaneous allusions in the letters, some are of more than ordinary interest. Edward Browne the physician and traveller, the eldest son of the author of *Religio Medici*, in a letter of June 4, 1697, comments to Dr Gale on the misuse of old MSS.

" Within 2 miles of me I cast my eie not long ago into a chandler's shop, where I saw 'em tearing an old parchment book to pieces to wrap up pennyworths of tobacco. I desired to see it, and found it to be a very fair *Higden*. They had torn away all the Jewish history of it. . . . I have since had it bound near your house, and I think I gave order that you should see it. Store of such books is no sore " (i. 140–1).

Pepys sends to his friend Mrs Steward, in a letter " of compliment and banter," an account of the " publick wedding " of a " Blewcoat-Boy " to a " Blew-Coat-Girl in Christ's Hospital," " he in his habit of blew-satin, ledd by 2 of the Girls, and shee in blew, with an apron green and petticoat yellow, all of sarcenett, ledd by 2 of the Boys of the House, through Cheapside to Guild-hall-Chappell, where they were married by the Dean of Paul's, and shee given by my Lord Mayor " (i. 110). We hear of the disinfection of letters in the Post Office, it being " ever the practice abroad to dipp them in vinegar and purify them with brimstone where suspected to come from places infected with the plague " (i. 285). There are references to the sinister reappearance in England of Pepys's persecutor, the adventurer Colonel John Scott, " in pretty good habitt and a bob wigg on," flourishing " a parchment with a broad seale to itt." He said it was his pardon, and demanded a silver box to put it in (i. 129–30). We hear also of the attempts of the Lords of the Admiralty to make Pepys disgorge the

official letter-books of his period of office as Secretary. The application came through the uncongenial channel of Josiah Burchett, Pepys's old clerk, who had been discharged by him in disgrace in 1687, but was now Secretary of the Admiralty. An application made by him on February 21, 1699, seems to have been met with a stony silence (i. 168), for on June 7, 1700, Burchett again returned to the charge (i. 354), but the result does not transpire. A letter to Pepys from Dr Charlett contains an account of a visit to Boscobel House, where "the trunc of the Royal Oak is now inclosed within a round wall, with an inscription" (ii. 278); and we learn from one of Evelyn's letters that in 1696 he had missed the Royal Society Election on St Andrew's Day for the first time for five-and-thirty years (i. 134). On one occasion Pepys was saved from a minor disaster by the intervention of a friend. Mr Pepys of Yarmouth, who was under the impression that his kinsman was still influential in the Navy, asked Major Aungier in May 1700 "to disire your Honour to helpe him to a first lieutenant's place of any of the 20 saile of shipps that were to be fitted out to sea" (ii. 44). By way of furthering this object, his wife "had a designe, when she had putt her sonn in breeches, to send him up to waitte on your Honour"; but she was advised "not to send him upon noe account whatsoever" without first obtaining permission. When she attempted to strengthen her position with "a present of herring" for Aungier and of herring and salmon for Pepys, the former replied that the salmon had reached its destination, but "as to her sonn I told her I thought I had said enough in my former letter, and that my opinion was the same still."

A considerable number of the letters in this Collection relate to the European tour of John Jackson, Pepys's younger nephew, who afterwards became his heir. Pepys had a robust belief in the educational value of foreign travel, claiming for his own journey through Holland and France in 1669 "a degree of satisfaction and solid usefulnesse that has stuck by mee through the whole course of my life and business since" (ii. 242). He noted "the different grace as well as reality of

performances in persons of the highest forms, no less than greatest eminence . . . whose knowledge has been widened and refined by travel, and others whose observations have been stinted to the narrow practice of their own country" (ii. 243); and urged his cousin the Dean of York to send his son (i. 380) and John Evelyn to send his grandson (ii. 242) to travel abroad. In the case of his own nephew he entirely financed a tour which included France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and lasted for two years. He afterwards regretted that Holland had been omitted, and talked of a supplementary two months for him there, "for the sake of the many eminent particularitys to be mett with at this juncture" (ii. 244).

Pepys's friends appear to have entertained a high opinion of John Jackson which readers of his letters may suspect that he did not altogether deserve. Evelyn calls him "your accomplished nephew" (ii. 50); Captain Hatton refers to his "great and universall knowledge" and "unwearied diligence" (ii. 75); and Sir William Hodges the Cadiz merchant speaks of him as "a very sober and ingenious young gentleman" (ii. 94); but all these complimentary references are addressed to his gratified uncle, and we do not hear what they said to each other about him. The impression created by Jackson's own letters is that he belonged to the eighteenth century rather than to the seventeenth. He exhibits on all occasions the prosaic good sense which characterised that age, combined with a certain priggishness which was all his own. His descriptions of what he saw are mostly mere guide-book, and his reflections, although mainly solid and judicious, are nowhere very profound. He maintains a "stedfast regard to usefullness and good husbandry" (ii. 57); keeps elaborate accounts (ii. 210); and takes notes of everything he sees (ii. 125, 209), following the advice of the Reverend Paul Lorrain, "For 'tis the part of a wise and ingenious and religious traveller (as you are) not only to shun that which is vicious but copy-out what is commendable in those countrys and among those people he comes to see" (ii. 119).

But if John Jackson's letters are sometimes dull, as a whole they have this outstanding merit, that they give a

complete account, from start to finish, of the proceedings of a young gentleman of means making the grand tour at the end of the seventeenth century. We have the plan sketched out for him beforehand by James Houblon the younger (i. 181–7), with instructions how he is to travel and what he is to pay; the letters of recommendation furnished him by his uncle's friend James Houblon the elder, the famous merchant (i. 190–2); the money and credits with which he was provided at the beginning of his journey (i. 192–3); the supplies in the various coinages of Europe subsequently taken up by him on his travels; and even the rates of exchange at which they were reckoned in English money. Indeed, if anyone were prepared to make the intricate calculations involved, it would be possible to work out exactly what the tour cost Pepys in English pounds. Jackson's journeyings could be traced on a map from town to town, and a good deal of exact information could be obtained from the letters concerning the cost of travelling at that time, the nature of the risks encountered on the road, the "distempers" to which the voyager was liable, and the interesting people whom (if properly introduced) he would be likely to meet. There is nothing of the kind in the English language more elaborate or complete.

The departure from London took place on October 13, 1699 (i. 194). Jackson and his man Paris started early, and rode on hired horses to New Shoreham, arriving there at 8 at night. Here they were weatherbound for three days, to the uncle's great annoyance, which was but little mitigated by "a score of bloated herrings" which the nephew dutifully despatched before sailing (i. 199). The inhabitants of Shoreham made no good impression on the traveller. His host Mr Luck, "one of the principal," was "very civil in his way, but I not being capable of accepting his offers of a dramm of cherry brandy or smoaking a pipe, our conversation was very soon at an end; and I have no thoughts of qualifying myselfe for resuming it" (i. 194). The master of the "passage-boat" had "one of the meanest tarpawlin-aspects, and the most of a sott in his looks, that I ever saw" (i. 196). On this Pepys remarked

that he had "known many a sage at sea make but a sott ashoare" (i. 202). The "sage" managed to run his ship aground three times before they got across to Honfleur, and the vessel was so leaky that it was necessary to "pomp" her (i. 206).

As soon as they landed in France, Paris the servant, for reasons which are not stated, assumed the name of "Patisson, a Scotch man," and spoke broken French "in perfection" (i. 207). The journey from Honfleur to Rouen was performed partly on horseback, and partly in a public canal-boat which landed them at their destination between 4 and 5 the next morning, where they had to wait in a "brandivin-shopp" on the quay two hours longer for the opening of the gates. "'Twas one of the bitterest frosty nights I ever felt; and there being no possibility for me to gett a wink of sleep in this miserable voiture, I found myselfe indeed not a little disconcerted at my entrance into Roüen" (i. 225); but the sights of the place "made me ample amends for all my toil."

After a stay of five days in Paris, Jackson proceeded by *diligence* to Lyons, where he was joined by a Mr Martin, who had been chosen as a travelling-companion for him (i. 234),—a youth whose rather prim and precise letters suggest a friend after his own heart (i. 234, 272). Lyons was "a very noble city, as large at least as Rouen, and (I think) as well built as Paris; I should also esteem it for its being very populous, were it not that almost one halfe of the people begg in the streets" (i. 236). "I must not omitt observing to you," he adds to his uncle, "that I have not yet mett with a dropp of good wine." From Lyons they went to Geneva, where the inhabitants are "not so nice observers of the Sabbath . . . as I thought they had been" (i. 236); then by way of Turin to Genoa, where "I thought I should have left my heart . . . amidst the charms which that beautifull city afforded me" (i. 251); and so by way of Leghorn, Pisa, and Siena to their first main objective, Rome.

In earlier letters to his uncle, Jackson had been careful to send messages to all his friends by name, but he soon attempted to discontinue these superfluous compliments, pleading haste,

or the length to which the letter had extended, or the fact that his paper had run out, as excuses for not saluting his friends "more particularly." But Pepys, who in some matters was disposed to be exacting, made it clear to his nephew that he must "finde some way . . . to name your friends you would salute" (i. 271); and the result is that at the end of most of the letters the names of Mrs Skynner, Mrs Crawley, Captain Hatton, Dr Smith, Sir James Houblon, Mr Martin, Mr Mussard, and other worthies, appear in a recurring refrain which has about it a haunting suggestion of the chorus of "Widecombe Fair."

John Jackson's visit to Rome had a special purpose—to witness the ceremonies connected with the Jubilee Year 1700, and these he describes at considerable length. He was present at St Peter's at the opening of the Holy Door on Christmas Eve, 1699 (N.S.), saw the Cardinals' supper at the Vatican, and went to the midnight devotions at St Lorenzo, where he heard "ravishing musick suited to the occasion" (i. 255–7). He was careful to "avoid splitting on the rock which I observe few of our English can keep clear of: that is, the herding with one another in ordinarys and coffee-houses, where they engage in play, and scarce hear a word of Italian from morning to night" (i. 261); and frequented instead the Roman houses—"musick twice a week at Don Livio's," a "conversation of wits" elsewhere, and "now and then a little ball at a dancing-school" (i. 263–4). He took up eagerly the study of the language, and also of the antiquities of Rome, writing to his uncle, "the thoughts I find necessary towards making a profitable use of them scarce" afford "me time . . . to eat, drink, or sleep" (i. 273). After about three months' work, he is able to report, "I thank God I have now pretty well mastered the language; I can read it almost as well as French; I understand it tolerably well when spoken; and can without much difficulty make myselfe understood" (i. 304). Pepys welcomed the opportunity which his nephew was thus seizing of "solid and lasting good"; but it was "matter of melancholly" to him to think of other English gentlemen wasting their time over cards, "and consequently noe lesse to my

content to finde you and your fellow-traveller Mr Martin endeavouring to distinguish your selfes therefrom by your different applications" (i. 284). He wished, however, that his nephew "carryed more of the musician" about him (i. 270), and took occasion to lament "my never having given you opportunity of initiating your selfe in Drawing, before your setting out hence on a journy soe full of employment for it" (i. 284).

A visit to Naples to see the Carnival provokes Jackson to the opinion that, "for all sorts of wickednesse," it was "the most abandoned place" he ever set foot in, and one that abundantly deserved of its neighbouring volcanoes the fate that overtook the Cities of the Plain (i. 305).

Early in March the wanderers returned to Rome for the Holy Week to find "the concourse of strangers" "most prodigious" (i. 303), and music almost every night of the week "at vast expence, and the best worth it, as our judges say, of any that ever was heard in Italy, or perhaps will be again till the next 100th year" (i. 303). Pepys had urged his nephew not to miss the unaccompanied singing in the Pope's Chapel (i. 299), which seems to have been famous, but that stolid youth did not think much of it (i. 313). An account of the proceedings of the Holy Week, which afforded "great variety of entertainment," and included the christening of "3 Turks and a Jew," was duly despatched to London (i. 310–11), as also a description of a solemn Papal Benediction (i. 314); and before leaving Rome, Jackson succeeded in obtaining an Audience of the Pope (i. 324). On this his uncle writes, "I am mightily pleased with your haveing seene the Old Father, and been partaker of an Audience from him, before your comeing away" (i. 333).

On April 21, 1700 (O.S.), Jackson and his companion set out for Venice. In a more than usually common-place letter to his uncle, dated May 10, he makes all the obvious remarks about the city, and describes the ceremony of espousing the Adriatic (i. 336), but his sight-seeing appears to have been interrupted by an indisposition which required "bleeding and purging, etc." (i. 346), and on May 31 he departed by way of

Padua, Verona, and Mantua, to Milan. His only comment on this part of the journey relates to the prevalence of the *goitre*: "Nothing has more surprised us here than the swelled throats of the ordinary people; being beyond all comparison worse and more common than among the mountains of Savoy" (i. 377). In his praise of Lombardy Jackson becomes almost eloquent (see ii. 6), but Florence only strikes him as an "agreeable town" (ii. 13), and he and his friend were soon "upon the wing again" for Leghorn, which was reached on July 11. Here they were overwhelmed with "continual importunitys and *regalos* from the luxurious merchants" (ii. 17), and they did not get away for Genoa until July 18.

Pepys was naturally interested in all matters relating to the sea, and his nephew was to observe and report on "everything, great or little, so it be new, that occurs" "at sea or in foreign ports" (i. 357). By way of carrying out these injunctions, we find Jackson sending from Genoa a laudatory account of the Gulf of Spezzia, "at this boisterous time as calm as a fish-pond, insomuch that all the fleets of Europe might have rode . . . secure" (ii. 22), and making a point of visiting the French galleys at Genoa, and being "shewn the whole discipline of them" (ii. 23).

From Genoa Jackson went by sea to Marseilles, where he parted from Mr Martin, who made for Paris (ii. 42), and embarked alone on a "little tour" to Avignon and Montpellier. At the latter place he intended to make "but a day's stay," but the ship by which he was proposing to sail from the neighbouring port of Cette was not ready, and he was compelled to "languish a little here amidst abondance of gaiety and good humour, wholly new to one so lately come-out of Italy" (ii. 47). His ultimate conclusion was, however, that Montpellier was overrated:

"The air excepted, which possibly may be very good, I could almost wonder what should make this town so much talkt of and frequented by strangers; 'tis as ill built and slovenly an one as most I have mett with; no manner of amusement or conversation, but dangerous, very dangerous play among the ladys of quality, and idle chatt and ramping among the grisettes. Which

after the musick, paintings, architecture, and other curiositys of Italy, is but a very insipid dessert" (ii. 52–3).

On August 30 (O.S.) the traveller returned to Marseilles in order to embark there for Spain (ii. 60), but while waiting for a ship he succumbed to "a foolish distemper which the fruits of this country have given me" (ii. 63), a misfortune which drew from his uncle a solemn reference to "the ill effects of your improvident excess upon fruit," and to the warning afforded by the fate of the Earl of Exeter, "in the death, not onely of himself and of one or two more of his train, but the endangering all the rest" (ii. 85). Jackson's defence of himself against this charge is too long for quotation here, but it is well worth reading (ii. 115). His indisposition elicited the ready sympathy of his friend Lady Calverley, who wrote from Montpellier to prescribe remedies, which he was to carry about him when he went into Spain, "'tis so sad travelling, and there's no drugs in that ignorant place" (ii. 64)

At Marseilles a passage was secured in a ship bound for Cadiz, at 20 crowns for Jackson himself (to eat at the captain's table), and 10 crowns for his man (ii. 65), and on September 20 (O.S.) he went on board. The captain was a contrast to the "sott" of Shoreham, for he was "a very gentile, travelled man, that speaks all the politer languages of Europe very well" (ii. 75), and the captain's table was "a constant feast" (ii. 97). Visits were paid to the ports at which the vessel touched, and the voyager was charmed with "the delicious country of Catalonia; a country abounding with grapes, figgs, almonds, olives, oranges, and pomegranates in the open fields, and affording means for a most prodigious fabrick of brandy" (ii. 96).

At Cadiz Jackson was received with unbounded hospitality by Sir William Hodges, who insisted upon his taking up his quarters in his house, and there the exemplary young man devoted himself with energy to the study of Spanish, in which he took "great delight" (ii. 165); his zeal being stimulated from time to time by injunctions from London: "Pray con your Spanish" (ii. 167); "Lett mee still incult on you the

makeing your selfe maister of the language where you are" (ii. 177); and again, "Remember the language" (ii. 179).

Sir William Hodges had proposed to hire a Spanish gentleman to accompany his guest on his subsequent journeyings, one "that is not only master of the language but acquainted with all the methods of travelling here" (ii. 113, 123), but Jackson had observed "that 'tis not only the ill accommodation but the extravagant charge joyned therewith, that so much deterrs people from travelling in Spain" (ii. 127). It was "at least a 3rd dearer than either in Italy or France," and he therefore proposed to economise. His servant Paris was to be left behind at Cadiz, "if I can bring my friends to assent thereto, who being accustomed to a strange generosity in the disposing, not to say throwing-away of their own money, are amazed when they find me studying of thrift" (ii. 127); and he was fortunately able to substitute for the expensive Spaniard a travelling-companion who would share the charges,—"a pretty young gentleman that has been these 2 years in these parts, and speaks the language" (ii. 129). The two succeeded in obtaining passage in a man-of-war from Cadiz to Malaga, and there they were hospitably entertained by the English merchants (ii. 137). From Malaga they went to Granada, and thence by Cordova and Toledo to Madrid. The travellers found the land journey easy and pleasant, and Jackson has even a good word to say of the roads and inns:

> "To do justice also to the roads of Spaine, which are so direfully represented by travellers, though I will not pretend to compare the accommodations thereon with those of England, France, or Italy, yet I cannot but say that in all these severall hundred miles I never once wanted a bed with clean sheets, nor partridges, rabbots, or new laid eggs, in the worst *venta* wee mett with; and in the great towns found more than common civilitys from the Spaniards wee were recommended to" (ii. 150).

From Madrid Jackson sent home descriptions of the preparations for the new King's entry into his capital (ii. 164), the festival upon the news of his having passed the frontier (ii. 172), and of the Entry itself on February 7, 1701 (O.S.).

This was " not with much pompe, but a most surprising concourse of coaches and people " (ii. 192). The city was illuminated, and there were elaborate fireworks, " though not thought to be extraordinary for Spain, where they are very expert in this art " (ii. 194); and " whoever had seen the Spaniards this day only, would have concluded them a very drunken people, having taken their cups very freely, and laid aside all gravity " [1] (ii. 194). Another outstanding impression of Madrid was the irreverence of the Church music on Christmas Eve, " the whole solemnity more comedy-like than any thing else; the mobb mocked the musick aloud, and the priests themselves not only bearing with it, but seeming as well pleased as the best of them " (ii. 150). He was also struck with the ingrained idleness of the Spaniards, who even in winter being " seldom without a serene sky and most comfortable sun," " come-out of their houses about noon and plant themselves against the walls to baske themselves " in it, " having little else to doe " (i. 184).

From Madrid the two companions went to Seville, the journey " by galesh through the Estremadura " taking thirteen days (ii. 202), and from thence they paid another visit to Cadiz (ii. 204), where the " pretty young gentleman " appears to have rejoined his friends. Jackson himself intended to return to Madrid in time to see the " Great Entrada," but as the date of this was unexpectedly advanced he missed it, although he rode post for part of the way (ii. 209). To this disappointment was added another misfortune, " which is the loss of my account-booke with 2 months of my Journal, that in riding post broke through my pocket, and are not yet to be heard of " (ii. 209). This left him " very disconsolate," " indeed I made it so much my idol that I could almost think it a judgment upon me " (ii. 210). It must have been equally disappointing to an admiring friend, who after expressing the hope that Providence would " att last conduct " him " to the arms of a bride equall to " his " meritts," had added, " I hope one day the publick may be obliged by your curious remarks, and as for many years Spaine has been

[1] There are several allusions to the " Spanish gravity " elsewhere.

neglected by travellers of good education, yours will be considered new and original" (ii. 219–20).

Pepys was very anxious that his nephew should see a bull-fight,—"that which themselfes owne the greatest pride of Spayne to lye in" (ii. 176), and he found "the diversion very well worth the seeing once; the worst of it is its barbarity" (ii. 212). He also witnessed the taking of the oath of fealty to the new King, "being a ceremony performed with great solemnity, and of the same nature, I presume, as that formerly used by the Barons, etc., in England" (ii. 215).

On April 28, 1701 (O.S.), Jackson left Madrid by way of the Escurial, Salamanca, where he deplored the "present declining state of that famous University" (ii. 218), and Ciudad Rodrigo, and on May 13 he reached Oporto. He pronounced Portugal to be "absolutely the worst country I have yet sett foot into" (ii. 218), and though before leaving Spain he had "experienced more of their ill accommodations for travellers," he "found how much, at the worst, they are superior to Portugal and the Portuguese." Oporto was "no bad town," and the English there were more numerous than all the rest of the foreigners put together (ii. 219), but his thoughts were setting homewards, and he writes nothing about the final stage of his journey. In an earlier letter his uncle had confessed to an expectation "that your motion (like all other naturall ones) will now quicken as it grows nearer home" (ii. 99), and this appears to have been fulfilled. A letter from Lisbon, dated June 17, 1701 (O.S.), announces his impending departure in "the *Crown and Sceptre*, one Ingram of Yarmouth master, bound for Holland" (ii. 232), and on August 6 one of Pepys's friends writes, "I mightly congratulate with you Mr Jackson's happy arrival" (ii. 235).

Pepys belonged to a class which he describes as "liquorish after news" (ii. 144), and he expected his nephew to purvey information. "For your making your most of your journeying in Spaine and Portugal," he wrote; "I know not what better to say to you in general and in fewer words than this, *Pry and ask questions*; for without it (such generally is the ignorance and incuriousness of that people) you must expect to learn

little, nor very much with it" (i. 358). In a later letter he had urged him to have his "political eyes and ears... open" (ii. 125), and had suggested that one of his letters might be specially designed for the purpose of recommending himself (and his uncle) to the higher powers in England. The recipe for this is worthy of the subtlety and experience which dictated it (ii. 132). It does not appear that this diplomatic document ever saw the light, but Jackson's letters from Spain, and especially those from Madrid, are full of political references. The death of Charles II of Spain, and the succession of a Bourbon prince under his Will, had created a new and perilous situation in Europe. The first result had been a remarkable change of opinion in Spain itself. On November 5, 1700 (O.S.), the observer writes,

"The Spaniards seem strangely loyal to their Prince. Though nothing was more odious to them than the name of the French a fortnight agoe, yet since their King has thought fitt to name the Duke of Anjou for his successor, they are one and all ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the support of his title. They buy-up his picture here like mad, and I am told have given a piece of 8 for that which at Paris cost but a penny, being out of the modes" (ii. 114).

"'Tis not to be imagined," he writes later, "to what a degree the Spaniards are all at once Frenchified"[1] (ii. 137). Before long there appeared ominous signs pointing to the coming war. Three new forts were to be built at Gibraltar (ii. 172, 203), and French engineers inspected the defences of Cadiz (ii. 200). On February 3, 1701, Pepys wrote of "the great and suddaine fall of the actions of all our Stocks, I meane that of the Banke and both our East India Companys" (ii. 187), and the English merchants began to entertain the gravest apprehensions. On February 8, 1701 (O.S.), one of them writes to Jackson to that effect from Cadiz (ii. 191), and on February 23 he adds, "all the English and Dutch in this place are more than half scared out of theire sences, feareing a suddaine rupture" (ii. 197). The closing of the Straits to English trade in the event of war was "so much apprehended by our merchants in these

[1] A curious extract from the *Spanish Gazette* reflects in more detail contemporary opinion in Madrid on the political situation (ii. 185).

parts that they have already cleared all their warehouses of their effects, expecting no mercy from the Spaniards if they fall into their hands" (ii. 203; March 4, 1701, O.S.). Towards the end of May, however, the sky began to clear (ii. 221, 222), and on the 29th (O.S.) an English banker wrote to Jackson from Madrid, "I beleive you may safely pass to France, the apprehentions of a war being almost blown over, att least for the yeare" (ii. 224). This forecast was justified, for it was not until the spring of 1702 that Europe as a whole became involved in the war of the Grand Alliance.

John Jackson's correspondence with English merchants abroad reveals certain peculiarities of the commercial epistolary style. In order to save time it was customary to omit the definite article, pronouns, and prepositions, and to dispense with most of the punctuation. And if the breathless compositions of Monsieur Jean Baptiste Hon of Marseilles may be regarded as typical, a corresponding peculiarity is to be found among the French merchants. Monsieur Hon, who is always pressed for time, omits not only punctuation but also accents of all kinds, writing *men* for *m'en*, *jay* for *j'ai*, *cest* for *c'est*, *dattendre* for *d'attendre*, and even *lhoneur* and *lordre*. This makes his letters rather difficult to decipher.

Among the papers that were not lost in John Jackson's pocket-book, was his "Journal from Turin, Rome, etc.," including Spain and Portugal, and this is still in the possession of the Pepys Cockerell family. It is written on 52 loose quires and sheets of note-paper, in the traveller's own hand, and beginning with an account of Turin dated December 4, 1699 (N.S.), ends on July 31, 1701, with the writer still at sea on his passage towards England. An entry of the former date complains of "beds without curtains" at "La Gambette," "a base night's lodging," and "a cutthroat reckoning" on the following day, and on September 16–25, 1700 (N.S.), there are further particulars of the indisposition referred to on p. xxix above. On September 16 he was "very much out of order all day"; on the 17th he was "let blood"; and until the 25th he "kept bed with feaver, with strict course of bouillon and tisane." The diary contains remarks on the

weather and the roads, notes of expenses, rough sketch-plans of towns, and descriptions of the more important places. It is evidently the work of a careful, but somewhat pedestrian observer.

John Jackson is one of the principal personages of the Pepys correspondence, but other more shadowy figures move in the background. Occupying much the same relation to Evelyn that Jackson does to Pepys, is John Evelyn the grandson, who wears somewhat the same air of primness. In February 1699 he went up from Eton to Balliol, and in the following July he indited to Pepys "a Latin letter of great ingenuity and respect" (i. 178), with verses in praise of Dr Smith, Dr Bentley, Captain Hatton, John Arbuthnot the physician, Mrs Skynner, his own grandfather, and Pepys himself. In the following year a Latin epigram found its way to the same destination (ii. 51); and in 1701 he wrote in Latin to Evelyn describing his studies and announcing his intention of leaving Oxford (ii. 240). The proud grandfather describes him as "naturaly of a grave, serious temper, discrete without morosenesse" (ii. 241), and later on he reports to Pepys his "vertuous progresse" in the studies suitable for a country gentleman (ii. 299). He finds him "moderatly and discreetly disposed, studious, and mindfull of his owne improvement," and adds, "'Tis a greate word when I assure you I never yet saw him in passion, or do a fault for which he deserved reproofe" (ii. 300).

In Cadiz John Jackson made the acquaintance of Master Joseph Hodges, the only son of Sir William Hodges the merchant, an intolerable child of twelve years of age, who knew Latin, Spanish, and French (ii. 139, 147), shewed "early maistery in fair writing" (ii. 171), and was "equally forward in all his other exercises and studies, dauncing, musick, grammar-learning, etc." (ii. 129). In November 1700 he despatched a Spanish letter of compliment "upon the then approaching Christ-tide and New Year" (ii. 171) to "Senor Don Samuel Pipes" (ii. 129), who made a suitable reply to his "dear little friend" (ii. 169). Master Hodges launched

another of these missives at "Don Juan Jackson" (ii. 134), and to no one could the Byronic association of a later time have been less appropriate. The parent of this paragon writes to Pepys, "My sonne hath learnt all in the howse, not daring to trust him at the schooles for reasons you may imagine" (ii. 147).

An interesting letter-writer of the Collection is Monsieur Dégalénière, a minister of the French Reformed Church, for whom Pepys had been instrumental in obtaining a country living in Ireland. The result was a torrent of gratitude, poured out in eloquent French, which attained its greatest volume when, through the same agency, this was exchanged for a better living near Dublin (ii. 227, 250). This exile in a strange land seems to have been rather an absurd person, but he was treated by Pepys with the utmost patience and consideration, and when he wrote an agitated letter to announce that his wife had destroyed his letters of ordination under the impression that they were waste paper (ii. 32), William Hewer was at once set to work to put matters right (ii. 43). This episode also led to outpourings of passionate devotion, to which his account of his fall from his horse (ii. 227) supplies unintentional comic relief. A letter of July 22, 1701, furnishes some startling information about the medical treatment regarded as appropriate in those days for a child suffering from debility (ii. 234).

The correspondence tells us much that is not to be found elsewhere about Pepys's household and entourage. The presiding genius was Mrs Mary Skynner, who kept house for him both in York Buildings and at Clapham. It is evident that she occupied a recognised social position, for Pepys's friends, including Evelyn and his wife, are always sending her greetings and messages. She enjoyed the ministrations of a maid of her own (ii. 315), and her portrait was painted by Kneller (ii. 265). On occasion she acted as Pepys's amanuensis, notwithstanding the fact that her spelling was abominable (*e.g.* i. 246), although it was a good deal better than that of the ladies of title who corresponded with Mr John Jackson. Lady

Throgmorton was bad (i. 231) and Lady Harbord worse (ii. 24), although an exception is to be found in Lady Calverley, whose letters were well spelt and admirably expressed (*e.g.* ii. 173).

Pepys's copyist, the rather sanctimonious Paul Lorrain, was ordained while in his service (i. 168), and afterwards became Ordinary of Newgate Prison (ii. 119). His employer was disposed to regret his ordination, partly because it left less of Lorrain's time at his disposal, and partly for " the restraint his præsent character puts upon mee as to the uses I should have to make of him relateing to my books, papers, and clerke-like services, other than bare sitting at his deske upon solemne works only " (i. 200).

Thomas Henderson, in whose elegant hand many of the copies of letters in this Collection are written, was a sensitive being who scented a conspiracy against him in the household (i. 382 ; ii. 78), and refused either to come out to Clapham again or to " diet " any more in York Buildings (ii. 104–5) ; but he was continuing to act as Pepys's clerk at any rate as late as February 13, 1701.

Pepys possessed a remarkable power of commanding the loyalty of those who served him. This appears in the correspondence with Edward Foster (ii. 295, 297), and still more clearly in a touching letter, written within three months of his death, in which Mary Ballard, an old servant, now married and with a home of her own, offers to come back and help to nurse him (ii. 302). In connexion with the household, the letter from Mary Ashman, the cook at Clapham, to Mrs Norris, who had gone to a new place (ii. 101), should not be overlooked. It is not clear how it got into Pepys's hands, but it is not surprising that he should have kept it as a curiosity.

Mrs Skynner had two brothers, Corbett the serious, an officer of Excise at Rye (ii. 156–7), and Peter the scapegrace ; and Pepys befriended them both. Through his friend Mr Tollet, who had been appointed Secretary to the Commission of Excise, he obtained for the former promotion to a better post as Supervisor at Bedford (ii. 188–90, 195, 251) ; but Peter was a more difficult proposition. When old Mrs Skynner, the mother, died, and left some money to the family, Pepys took

infinite trouble over the settlement of their affairs, even taking counsel's opinion on the legal position of the executors (ii. 288). Peter, scenting prey, at once put in a claim for the payment of his debts. After explaining to Pepys that he was "the only pillar whereon the kingdome of "his" happiness was erected, and by whome upheld" (ii. 289), he continues, in a letter which is a triumph of mendicancy,

> "It was a perticular lot from Heaven destined for our family, to have soe extraordinary a blessing as your Honour to be our advocate, whose sagacity, elocution, and generous-actions are not to be paraleld in this world, and whose piety and goodness deserves an everlasting encomium. Nor are these halfe the hecatombs of praise that ought to be offered up to your great merritts, without any manner of hipocrisie; for I have past through many laborynths and channells, and yet never mett with a more nobler patron of his country than your selfe. . . . My present low condition for want of subsistance I need not lay before your Honour, when it was but lately mentioned in a letter of yours to the Executrixes to councel them to consider their Brother's condition and to adjust his debts, which I should rejoyce at before the rich enters into the country where wee can't expect any address to" (ii. 290–1).

A letter of thanks, written on the same literary lines, suggests that Peter achieved his end (ii. 293), while a more sober communication from his brother indicates that he also was satisfied (ii. 298).

Another master of the art of begging-letter writing was Balthazar St Michel, Pepys's brother-in-law, but for him it is possible to feel more sympathy. At the time of the Revolution of 1688 he had been Commissioner of the Navy at Deptford and Woolwich, but so near a relation of the deprived Secretary of the Admiralty could not be allowed to remain in office, and he found himself turned adrift. On March 20, 1692, he writes to acknowledge Pepys's "generous goodness, favour, kindeness, and charity," but being afflicted with "sickness and tormenting paines" all over his body, "with the adition of the yallow-jandis and other distempers" (i. 55), he asks for "an old spare cast-off morning gowne, peruiques, and some like cast-off large cloake-coate, which things you could spare

without the least inconveniency to you, if you woold spare them to your afflicted servant they woold be very welcome and with milions of thanks ; and to have a bundle made upp and by a porter to have it privately left for me at Trinity House, Watter Lane, at Mr Hunter's " (i. 56). The last of Pepys's letters in this Collection, dictated to his nephew only about a month before his death, was an application to Sir George Rooke, as a member of the Board of Admiralty, for a pension for Balthazar St Michel in view of his age and length of service (ii. 307).

Although in his later years Pepys in general enjoyed good health, he did not altogether escape illness. The old trouble with his eyes, of which we hear so much in the *Diary*, is constantly reappearing. In 1679 he refers to his " almost 20 years' continued drudgery in the Navy, to the rendring my selfe almost blind " (i. 6), and he often apologises to his correspondents because the state of his eyes necessitates his " borrowing another's hand " (ii. 31 ; *cf.* also i. 57, 58, 250, and ii. 5).

In August and September 1692,[1] Pepys found that he was suffering from the sedentary character of his life, " my constant poreing, and sitting so long still in one posture, without any divertings or exercize, haveing for about a month past brought a humour down into one of my leggs, not only to the swelling it allmost the size of both, but with the giving mee mighty pains, and disabling mee to this day to putt on a shooe on that foot " (i. 61). On January 20, 1697, he writes to Sir Littleton Powys, " Time and times (which with me are 2 things) have together made almost a monk of me ; it being many months since I have made one stepp over my threshold " (i. 136),—but it is not clear that illness was the cause of this detention. In October 1699, however, it " pleased God to lay his hand very hard on " him, " with a fit or two of a most severe ague and feaver " (i. 227). By November 6 he was still " not daring yet to look out of doors " (i. 231), although otherwise " in a good state of health againe " (i. 234). In December he was " again much indisposed with a great cold, that was followed by

[1] *Cf.* also a reference of the preceding February (i. 54).

a fit or 2 of an ague " (i. 254) ; it may be this that Pepys refers to in the following March : " Myself, friends, and neighbours are (I bless God) all in present health, and that more particularly for myself in regard of an illness I have been very lately under, but by His grace entirely delivered from " (i. 294).

But a more serious calamity was close at hand. On March 25, 1700, Paul Lorrain writes in French to John Jackson at Rome to warn him that his uncle was dangerously ill (i. 306). The cause was his old trouble the stone, and Pepys, who took a characteristic interest in his own symptoms, afterwards described them fully to his nephew (i. 316–18) and to his cousin Roger Gale (i. 338). As there supervened what Mrs Skynner, writing from dictation, called " a most voilant feavier," the case was " truley desperate " (i. 339), and it was " by litle less than mericale " that his illness was not further prolonged (i. 338). His strength " had unavoidably sunk in a great degree " (i. 318), and as soon as he was convalescent, he went on May 5 to William Hewer's house at Clapham, taking with him Mrs Skynner and " a good part of my family " (i. 333). His health so far benefited by the change of air (i. 339) " as haveing nothing (I blesse God) remayning of my sayd illnesse but some small degree of weakenesse in reference to my walkeing abroad as I used heretofore to doe, which another weeke will, I quæstion not, sett mee fully to rights in " (i. 340). On June 3 he purposed " stepping to towne " (i. 351), and on June 13 he regarded himself as restored " to a very promiseing state of health againe " (i. 356). At this time he was already entertaining the idea, which was to be realised later, of a permanent migration to Clapham. " I am sated with the world," he writes, " and am within little of being prævayled with by my physician and friends (my nearest councellers for my health) to bidd soe farr an adieu to't as to sett up the short remaynder of my rest here where I now am, without troubling the towne or my selfe with it more " (i. 356). His stay at Clapham was prolonged into the autumn because his own house was " now whitening and otherwise in dust " (ii. 55), and it was not until September 19 that Mrs Skynner was busy " in getting our quarters in Yorke Buildings in a condition of receiving us

again, after its having been for these 2 months past in all the dirt and dust that a whole host of tylers, bricklayers, plaisterers, joiners, glasiers, and masons could put it into, without one inch of it yet clean enough for a Christian to set a foot on" (ii. 71). At the beginning of October, although he was still at Clapham, Pepys was getting to work again, arranging to collate his copy of the works of King Charles the Martyr with the edition in the Library at Lambeth Palace (ii. 77, 80), and doing something to the Catalogue of his own Library, "reviewing and adjusting" the chapter of *Tailles Douces* in the Appendix, "which I had swelled with a great many vulgar things, such as ballad prints, etc., which I shall garble, and to that purpose have tore it out, and shall draw it quite anew" (ii. 88). On November 19 he writes once more from York Buildings (ii. 131), but the idea of a move to Clapham was not abandoned (ii. 128). Down to September 24, 1701, letters are still being addressed to Pepys at York Buildings, but on December 10 Evelyn is writing to him "at Mr Hewer's house in Clapham, Surrey," congratulating him on "injoying better health, a purer aer, noble retreate, and . . . in a state of blisse as greate as any person who (as you do) knows how to make a just and true estimate of things we call hapy (and to distinguish images from substances) can, I think, desire or wish for on this side Heaven" (ii. 237). This must have been rather a rose-coloured view of the situation, for Pepys had become a permanent invalid. Three months later, on March 26, 1702, he wrote from Clapham to Sir Godfrey Kneller, "But so it has fallen-out that by an unexpected return of an old evil, the stone, I have been ever since under a continued incapacity, for these 2 years and more,[1] of stirring-out of doors, and at length was forced for life . . . to be brought hither, where I still am and am likely to be" (ii. 257).

Pepys still had another year of life before him, but his letters become fewer, and the last in this Collection written with his own hand is one to Dr Wallis dated October 3, 1702 (ii. 279). On March 13, 1703, John Jackson wrote on his

[1] "Two years and more" is an exaggeration, as in September 1700 he was taking "country excursions" (ii. 73).

behalf, "my Unkle Pepys being himselfe in no condition of writing" (ii. 307), and on April 19 he was pronounced by the doctors to be in a dangerous condition (ii. 309). His nephew, in rather a cold-blooded fashion, seized the opportunity to make a final bid for the inheritance (ii. 309); yet he shewed himself capable, under the influence of strong emotion, of writing the simple and touching account printed below (ii. 312) of the last scene before the curtain fell.

Samuel Pepys died on May 26, 1703,[1] in the 70th year of his age. The account of the autopsy (ii. 311), signed by three of the most distinguished physicians of the time, is so expressed as to be perfectly intelligible to the medical profession to-day. It shews that his death may be ultimately traced to the old trouble which had necessitated the operation of forty-five years before. As a result of renal calculus of long standing, the left kidney was much diseased, and this set up a general septic infection which was the immediate cause of death.

The "List of all the Persons to whom Rings and Mourning were presented upon the Occasion of Mr Pepys's Death and Funeral," here for the first time correctly printed (ii. 314), contains matter of interest. The funeral service, held at 9 o'clock in the evening of June 4, 1703, in the church of St Olave's, Hart Street, in the parish of Crutched Friars, was conducted by Dr George Hickes, formerly Dean of Worcester and now the nonjuring Bishop of Thetford, the intimate friend who had ministered to Pepys in his last hours. There were six pall-bearers (described as "supporters"). Of these, Pepys's old friend Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Anthony Deane who had fallen under the same accusations and had suffered the same imprisonment, appear obvious selections; as also "the Honourable Mr Hatton," probably the "Captain Hatton" of the correspondence, who may perhaps be identified with the "incomparable" Charles, a younger son of the first Lord Hatton. The connexion of the other three with Pepys was much less close. Louis Duras,

[1] "*Memorandum*: that the exact time of my Unkle Pepys's departure was 47 minutes past 3 in the morning, by his gold watch" (ii. 312).

Earl of Feversham, was intimately associated with the cause which the Nonjurors represented, for he had commanded at the Battle of Sedgemoor, and was now acting as agent in England for the Queen Dowager, Catharine of Braganza; but Sir Thomas Littleton and Mr James Vernon were both Whigs. But the former, as Treasurer of the Navy, had shewn himself to be a naval reformer after Pepys's own heart; and the latter, who is several times mentioned in the correspondence, had ceased to hold the office of Secretary of State, and was for the time being under a cloud.

The Royal Society and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were represented at the funeral, as also the Admiralty and the Navy Office, and a large number of friends were present. Mourning was provided for 43 persons, and 123 rings of three different values were presented to those invited, according to their degree. The magnificent character of the ceremony is suggested by the appearance among the mourners of a class described as "Retainers generall," which includes,—besides three doctors, an apothecary, and a lawyer,—Mr Pepys's scrivener and his scrivener's clerk; his goldsmith and his goldsmith's foreman; and his bookbinder and his bookbinder's sewer. There were also present Mr Pepys's relations, godchildren, "domesticks," and "former servants and dependants," as well as the relations and "domesticks" of Mr Hewer, and three clergy and two laymen from the parish of Clapham.

The addresses of the letters in the Chronological List (ii. 331) shew several variations in the spelling of Pepys's name:—Peppys (Nos. 39 and 48); Peppis (No. 70); Pepÿs (No. 92); Pepes (Nos. 127 and 268); Peeps (No. 230); Peepÿs (No. 239); Pepis (No. 347); Pipyes (No. 434). The endorsement of No. 43 also suggests that Pepys really did return the books and papers which Evelyn had lent him (see p. x above).

The letters and papers of 1707–1721 printed in the Appendix, with one possible exception (No. 529), are not concerned with Pepys, but they deserve inclusion, if only for the sake of the

communication from that learned and lively lady Mrs Abigail Dickons, which fell into John Jackson's hands by mistake (ii. 323); and for an outraged Archdeacon's scathing rebuke of his erring son (ii. 326).

The Editor desires gratefully to acknowledge the kindness of Mr H. F. Fox, formerly Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford, in advising him upon doubtful points arising in connexion with the classical quotations employed by John Evelyn and the Latin letters and verses written by Evelyn's grandson. He is also indebted for the clearing up of certain other difficulties to Dr Peter Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, to Professor T. Fraser of Jesus College, Oxford, to Mr C. W. Previté-Orton, Librarian of St John's College, Cambridge, to Mr O. F. Morshead, Pepysian Librarian of Magdalene College, Cambridge, to Mr A. Forbes Sieveking, and to Dr G. W. A. Lynch of Aldeburgh.

ALDEBURGH,
*October* 3, 1925.

# PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE & MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS OF SAMUEL PEPYS

## VOL. I

1 [MS. i. 1]. JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO MR PEPYS [*Copy*].[1]

*Hage, April* $\frac{[14]}{24}$, [1679].

The place that I come from afforded so little news, that it was not at all necessary for mee to write to you, only to let you know I had received yours in which you gave mee an account of the loss of the *Marigold*-prize at Tanger.[2] I hope wee shall now soon hear of the arrival of Sir J. Narborough,[3] for then wee shall have some more strength at home, though not so much as I think ought to be at sea, considering the ships they say the French are fitting out. This goes to you by my page Mr Hickman, who I desire may goe a voluntier in one of the convoys for Newfoundland, and if Captain Lloyd be one, that he may goe with him, which is all I shall now say but that you shall always find mee the same to you. JAMES.

[Note by a later hand: "The original of this letter is amongst autographs of Jane Louisa Cockerell."]

2 [MS. i. 2]. JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO MR PEPYS [*Copy*].[4]

*Hage, April* $\frac{[15]}{25}$, 1679.

I would not let this bearer Captain Sanders goe, without writing to you by him to let you know that I stopt him when

[1] This letter is printed in the Correspondence appended to Lord Braybrooke's edition of the *Diary*, 1854 (iv. 211).

[2] The *Marigold* prize had been driven by a storm from her anchors in Tangier Bay, and lost on that coast in the preceding January.

[3] On Sir John Narbrough, see *D.N.B.*, xl. 89.

[4] Printed in Braybrooke, iv. 211.

he came to Antwerp, intending to have come hither in him,[1] but by the negligence of our pilot wee came on ground near Bergen op Zome, so that I was forced to goe on board the Dutch yachts, but did not stir from thence till we got him off; shee is now at Helveot Sluys, and if this wind continue will soon be at Greenwich. I do intend to goe to morrow to Amsterdam; my chief business is to see the ships and magazins there. I design to be back here on Friday, and the next week to return to Bruxcelles. I long to hear of Sir J. Narborough's being arrived with you,[2] for one does not know what may happen as to France. I wish things may goe where you are as they ought, and be assured you shall find mee as kind to you as ever. JAMES.

3 [MS. i. 2]. SIR JOHN WERDEN[3] TO MR PEPYS [*Copy*].

*Hague, April* $\frac{15}{25}$, 1679.

SIR,—This is, by the Duke's command, to accompany Captain Saunders, and to give you an account of his stay on this side the sea longer than his Majesty at first designed him to doe it. He happened to arrive at Antwerpe (with Mr Shelden) about the time that the Duke and Dutchesse resolved to visit the Princesse of Orange, who was (and is still a little) indisposed, and had got an ague; so as being desirous of the convenience of an English yacht, as well as the Duke de Villa Hermosa's, his Royal Highnesse directed Captain Saunders to stay; and accordingly himselfe and the Dutchesse came on board the *Charlotte*, encouraged to it by the pilots both at Brussels and Antwerpe, who all affirmed there was water enough for her to passe in the usuall road to Delfes Haven.[4] It happened, neverthelesse, that by the pilot's missing the best of the channell, the yacht came on ground short of Bergen op Zoome, and notwithstanding all the vigilance and

[1] *I.e.* in his ship.
[2] Sir John Narbrough did not return from the Mediterranean until May.
[3] The Duke of York's secretary.
[4] A port on the Maas 2 miles S.W. of Rotterdam.

industry of the Duke, and the labour of all the other yachts' companys (in all 3 yachts, viz. Duke of Villa Hermosa's and two from Prince of Orange that met us there) shee stuck fast for 24 hours; and then being lightned of all or most of her ballast, ladeing, and guns, shee got off againe, and kept company with us as far as to Divelandt,[1] where again for want of water (though now shee drew not above $7\frac{1}{2}$ feete) she stuck, and here knowing her to be in noe danger wee left her; and by the captain, who came to us last night, we find shee continued there or at the end of the Zyppe severall tydes, and at last being got free of those sholes, the captain very prudently went streight away to Helveot Sluys, and came himselfe hither last night to give the Duke an account of his slow and troublesome voyage; and this is a true relation of what hath passed.

Upon all which, give me leave to observe to you, that though the pilots say, and it be true, that there is in most places (at high water) 10, 14, and 8 foote water, yet I do assure you the channels are so narrow and these depths so uncertainly measured, besides the inadvertency of not minding the difference of the Dutch and English foot, that in my humble opinion it is very clear that no ship of the King's that drawes above $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 foote water ought to venture over these crooked shallow streams.

To morrow their Royall Highnesses intend a running journey (incognito) to see Amsterdam for a day; and in a few more, though I know not the exact number of them, I believe wee shall quit this pleasant place for a worse, at least in the conceit of, Sir, Your very humble servant,

Jo. Werden.

4 [MS. i. 4]. Mr Pepys to Sir John Werden [*Copy*].

*Derby House, May* 5, 1679.

Sir,—This comes in answer to, and by the same hand that brought mee your last, to give you an account of his Majesty's

[1] Duiveland.

being very well satisfyed with the occasion of the *Charlott's* longer stay at that time on the other side than was expected. Whereto all I have to add is, that as unpleasant as you seem to hold the place you are now in, I think the not offering you mine in exchange is one of the best instances I can at this time give you of the sincerity of respect bornfe] you by, Your most faithfull, humble servant,

S. Pepys.

5 [MS. i. 5]. Mr Pepys to James, Duke of York [*Copy*].[1]

*Derby House, May* 6, 1679.

May it please your Royall Highness,—I acknowledge with all humility and thankfulness the honour of your Highness's letters of the 24th and 25th of the last, and doe with equal grief and shame observe how much your Highnesse's sollicitude (even at this distance) for the security of this kingdome against the power of France does exceed all that wee ourselves have yet expressed upon that subject, otherwise than by a generall but unactive restlessnesse under our apprehensions of the danger, but without any alteration made since your Royall Highnesse's departure in the state of our ships or coasts, other than what is consequential to their having lain so much longer neglected.

Sir John Narbrough's last letters were of the $\frac{7}{17}$ of March from Alicant, where having newly met with his Majesty's orders for his comeing home (after a short visit to Algier), he therein told mee he would accordingly proceed thence forthwith to Port-Mahon for the settling some matters in that place, and from thence to Algier; so as to be at Tangeir (in his way homeward) about the 7th of April. Since which, though wee have wholly wanted advice from him, yet by a letter I have seen from a slave at Algier of the 1st of April, it appears that he came before that town the 25th and departed the 29th March, after having sent two of his captains ashore to treat a peace, but without effect; this only is added by

[1] This letter is printed, but not very accurately, in Braybrooke, iv. 212.

the slave, that had Sir John Narbrough staid one day more in the Road, those of Algier had certainly made a peace with him, that government having afterwards (it seems) expressed some trouble that it was not done. By which calculation of time wee may now from day to day expect his being here.

I have remembred your Highnesse's command in reference to Captain Lloyd's being appointed one of the New-found-Land convoys, which his Majesty has been pleased to agree to, in company with C[aptain] Talbott in the *Mary Rose*, C[aptain] Priestman in the *Antelope*, and C[aptain] Kempthorne in the *Dover*, and will take care that Mr Hickman be entertained as a voluntier with Captain Lloyd.

How his Majesty has been pleased (among his other great changes) to dispose of the Admiralty by a new Commission to these gentlemen, viz., Sir Henry Capell, Mr Dan[iel] Finch, Sir Tho[mas] Ley,[1] Sir Thomas Meeres, Mr Vaughan, Sir Hum[phrey] Winch, and Mr Hales of Kent, your Highnesse (I doubt not) has many days since known; nor shall I think it becoming mee to interpose any thoughts of mine touching his Majesty's choice therein, more than that (for his and his service's sake) I could wish his naval action to be for time such as might allow these worthy gentlemen opportunity of being informed in the work of their great office before they be urged to much execution in it.[2]

And this I am the bolder in wishing, since their having taken upon themselves the performance of that branch of the Admiral's task which his Majesty was pleased, for the ease of his last Commissioners, to reserve the trouble of to himselfe, namely, the issuing all sailing instructions to his fleet and ships, his Majesty haveing, at the instance of these gentlemen, put that part also in their hands, together with the granting of all offices in the Navy, in the same manner as it has at any time been exercized by the Lords Admirals of England.

For what concerns my own particular, your Highness was pleased to foretell mee at your going hence what I was soon

[1] Lee.

[2] On the incompetence of the new Admiralty Commission of 1679, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* (Navy Records Society's publications), i. 57–65.

after to look for; and it is come to pass. For, whether I will or noe, a Papist I must be, because favoured by your Royall Highness, and found endeavouring on all fitting occasions to express in the best manner I can the duty and gratitude due to your Highnesse from mee. But how injuriously soever some would make those just endeavours of mine towards your Highness inconsistent with Protestancy, neither they, nor any ill usage I can receive from them for it, shall (by the grace of God) make mee any more quitt the one than I suspect your Royall Highness will ever take offence at my perseverance in the t'other.

His Majesty indeed is pleased to express a much more favourable opinion of me and my slender qualifications for his service than I dare own any right to, and (as an instance thereof) has not spared to tell mee how much weight he is pleased to place upon my experience in the Navy for supplying, by my Secretaryshipp, what his present choice of Commissioners may possibly be found less perfect in. Nor shall I think it becoming me to dispute the giving his Majesty my service on whatever terms he shall think fitt to require it from mee.

But as your Royall Highness well knows how far I had not long since made it my humble motion, and pressed it upon your favour, that after almost 20 years' continued drudgery in the Navy, to the rendring my selfe almost blind, and otherwise disabled in health to support it much longer, his Majesty would be pleased to take the residue of my small service by admitting mee into the Commission of the Admiralty, so truly (Sir) I have now upon other considerations purely relative to his service made the same motion to the King upon occasion of this change. For if I was truly conscious of being become less able to bear the fatigue of my office any longer under a Commission that had many members of it competently furnished for its execution, besides the easy and helpfull recourse I at all times had to his Majesty himselfe and your Royall Highness in matters needing it (and those, as old a navy-man as I am, not a few), how much less fitt ought I to think my selfe to goe through this task when not only stript of all those helps but

(to say no worse) charged with a new piece of duty, and that not a little one, of informing those who should informe and are to command me, and I remain accountable for all the ill success that should attend my obeying those commands, though possibly differing from my own advice?

Besides, however fairly some of these gentlemen seem disposed towards my continuance in this Secretaryshipp, yet that complyance of theirs I well know to be grounded upon some opinion they have of the necessariness of my service to them till they have obtained a stock of knowledge of their own, and then, Farewel. But others there bee with whom, your Royall Highnesse knows, (what converts soever they are now to be thought), I have for many years lived in a constant state of war, they censuring and I defending the managements of the Navy, and with such success on the Navy's side as to have always met with too great an appearance of his Majesty's well-accepting my humble endeavours therein, that (however our conjunction may now succeed in reference to his Majesty's service) I should promise any satisfaction to myselfe from them; especially upon terms so unequal as that of my being brought down to be a servant to them whom the dignity of the trust I have so long had the honour of serving his Majesty in might (I hope) be thought to have sett mee upon a level with.

Whereto I have humbly to add, what some have not spared publickly to let fly in opposition to my continuance in this office, namely, that so long as Mr Pepys should be there his Royall Highness remains in effect Admiral. In which, though they doe mee a much greater honour than either I deserve or their malignity designs mee, yet, Sir, I cannot but so far consider the importance of having all rubbs removed which may either bee of impediment to the happy going on of this great part of the King's service or give any unnecessary occasions of keeping alive the jealousies touching your Royall Highnesse, that if his Majesty may as well secure to himselfe the full use of my service, and your Highnesse receive no less content from my being in the Commission than in my present post (which you

were pleased, upon my former motion to that purpose, to express your well-likeing of), I see no inconvenience (but to myselfe) likely to arise from his Majesty's giving them the satisfaction of his withdrawing mee from this invidious Secretaryshipp, I being for these reasons not only contented to submitt to, but desire it, and shall bee most ready to give my assistance in this Commission with the same faithfullness and industry (though not with the same fullness of private satisfaction) wherewith I ought and should were your Royall Highness your selfe at the head of it.

Which haveing said, I make it my humble prayer to your Royall Highness to interpret with your usual justice my deliberations upon this subject, pardoning aught that shall happen not to find your full likeing, as being designed most entirely for the benefit of his Majesty's service.

But if it shall bee my better fortune to meet with your Royall Highnesse's approbation in what I have here humbly offered, I then make it my suit to your Highnesse that you will be pleased to consider how far it may bee fit for your Highnesse to enforce from yourselfe this my humble proposal to his Majesty for my being transferred from the Secretaryshipp into the Commission; your Royall Highnesse well knowing that however bounteous you have always been to mee in your frequent callings on mee to the improvement of your favour to my benefit with his Majesty, I have never to this day done it to the obtaining sixpence from the Crown by any boone extraordinary beyond the plain allowance of my office, and not that neither yet, by much more than all I have else reserved in the world to depend upon, as your Highnesse was pleased to be informed from mee by particulars (and from you, the King) just before your going.

Soe as while the sincerity of my wishes for the weal of his service prompts mee to this voluntary divesting myselfe of my present employment, I should be in very ill condition to bear it's not being made up to mee by his Majesty's granting (for his service's sake, as well as in his justice to your Royall Highnesse's mediation and his own promises in my favour) the latter part of my motion for his placeing mee in the Com-

mission, or at least making some other provision for mee, as one super-annuated in his service.

Wherein nevertheless submitting my selfe still to your Royal Highnesse's disposal, and beseeching God Almighty to put some timely bounds to your misfortunes, whatever becomes of mine, I in all humility remaine, May it please your Royall Highnesse, Your Royall Highnesse's most obedient and most dutifull servant, S. P.

6 [MS. i. 11]. James, Duke of York, to the King [*Copy*].[1]

*Bruxelles, May* $\frac{[12]}{22}$, 1679.

I hope your Majesty will pardon mee for writing to you in the behalfe of an old servant of yours in the Navy that has long and faithfully served you; it is Mr Pepys, who now upon this change in the Admiralty is like to suffer without your Majesty's favour; and truly I think should he be quite laid aside I believe the service there would not be so well carried on, and those who are named to be Commissioners of the Admiralty, though in other affairs are very able men, yet must needs be very raw in that, and will want one amongst them that understands it. Therefore that I have humbly to offer to your Majesty in Mr Pepys's behalfe is, that you will be pleased to add him to that Commission and let him bee one of their number. Sure none can reasonably find fault with your Majesty's doing it for him when they consider his long service in the Navy and that you do it as a recompence to him for all his services, and besides I think it very necessary for your service always, and the easiest and less chargeable way of doing something for him that can be thought on, for, give mee leave to say, your Majesty is bound to doe something for him that has spent so many years in your service to your satisfaction. Pray, Sir, pardon mee for being earnest in this affair; I can never helpe being soe where I think your honour concerned, and I wish all your subjects were as

[1] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 216.

true Englishmen and as dutifull and loyall as I am and ever shall be. JAMES.

7 [MS. i. 11]. JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO MR PEPYS [*Copy*].[1]

*Bruxelles, May* $\frac{[13]}{23}$, 1679.

Yours by Captain Sanders I received yesterday morning, and look on what you propose as so reasonable that I send you here enclosed a letter to his Majesty as you desired,[2] and send it with a flying seale that you may read it before you deliver it, to see how you like it; and truly I hope his Majesty will do it, I am sure he ought, and it will doe him more good to reward one old servant than to take off twenty mutiners. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find mee firme to you. JAMES.

8 [MS. i. 12]. MR PEPYS TO JAMES, DUKE OF YORK [*Copy*].[3]

*Tower, June* 9, 1679.

May it please your Royall Highness,—I should not have thought it in any wise becoming mee to trouble your Royall Highness with the notice of any thing relating to the present difficulties I lie under, otherwise than as they serve for the necessary excuse of my no earlier owning the favour of your Royall Highness's by Captain Sanders, which found mee in the custody under which I with Sir Anthony Deane do now remaine, upon no less suggestions than those of Popery, Felony, Piracy, and Treason, but so grounded as to render it hard for mee to tell your Highness which of the two enjoys the greater pleasure, whether Mr Herbert[4] in publick from the contemplation of the conquest his malice has obtained

[1] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 216.
[2] Letter No. 6.
[3] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 217.
[4] Mr William Harbord, the chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons which collected evidence against Pepys and Deane (see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys*, p. 236).

over mee, or I in private from what my innocence tells mee I shall some time or other (if any justice may be hoped for) obtain against him. Hardships however I do and shall contentedly suffer, and the more in that I had the honour of having my duty to your Highnesse assigned for the real cause of what my adversaries are pleased artificially to pretend of Popery and other like chimæras for: Begging your Royall Highness to believe, that as your Royall Highness shall never receive any dishonour from the favour you have been observed to incline to towards mee, so neither shall any of the hard usages which the malignity of some or want of information in others can subject mee to, render mee either less zealous in my duty and allegiance to my Royall Master, or less forward in the payment of that gratitude which even that Protestancy of mine the world would be thought so doubtfull of, exacts from mee towards your Highness, and shall have it to the last point of my fortune and life.

For what concerns your Royall Highnesse's particular goodness to mee in your late letter to his Majesty, the condition I am in puts it out of my power to apply it to my benefit, but not so as to make mee any thing doubtfull of the fruits of it in his Majesty's justice so soon as the justice I am waiting for from lower hands shall put me into a capacity of asking it. Towards which referring your Royall Highness in all humility to Sir John Worden[1] for some particulars wherein your present aid and direction may be of instant benefit to mee under my present misfortune, I pray God protect your and her Royall Highness and am, May it please your Royall Highness, Your R[oyal] Highnesse's most obedient and ever most dutifull servant, S. P.

9 [MS. i. 21]. Mr Pepys to James, Duke of York [*Copy*]

*Saturday, May* 14, 1681.

May it please your Royall Highness,—As I forbear offering your R[oyal] H[ighness] interruptions, where there is nothing

[1] Sir John Werden is often referred to in the documents of this period as Worden, and Pepys spells the name both ways; but he signs as Werden.

extraordinary requiring the contrary, so am I no less ready to give your Highness the earliest advice I can of aught falling within my notice wherein either his Majesty's name or yours are interested, as they appear to be in the enclosed paper, which is a copy of an Addresse intended to be presented to his Majesty to morrow at Windsor by the body of the Trinity-House conducted by their Master, the E[arl] of Berkeley.[1] In which though your Royall Highness will find more occasion of observing how little than how much your servants (and particularly my selfe) are yet able to doe in discharge of their dutys towards the King and your selfe; yet such as it is, and such as the suddenness of the opportunity offered us for doing it would suffer it to bee, I trust your Royall Highness will take it in good part, as comeing from hands that will not fail of paying both his Majesty and your R[oyal] H[ighness] fuller proofs of their dutys than this, whenever God Almighty shall administer occasion for it. And could I tell how far your Royall Highness would take it for one, to have a like application made to his Majesty from the commanders and officers of the Fleet, I should not (with the King's approval) let that also lye long unattempted, or (I hope) uneffected.

With restless prayers to Heaven for a further degree of quiet to his Majesty and satisfaction to your Royall Highness, I in all humility am, May it please Your Royall Highness, Your R[oyal] H[ighness]'s ever most obedient and dutifull servant, S. P.

10 [MS. i. 23]. JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO MR PEPYS (*Copy*].[2]

*Edinburgh, May* 21, 1681.

By the last post I had yours of the 14th with the copy of the Addresse which was to be presented by the Trinity-House, and never doubted but that they would always do their parts as became loyall subjects, and I am sure it will not be your fault if all where you have any thing to doe, do not what

[1] On George Berkeley, first Earl of Berkeley, Master of the Trinity House in 1681, see *D.N.B.*, iv. 347.

[2] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 220.

becomes them. As for what you propose for the commanders and officers of the Fleet to present such an Address to his Majesty, I do not think it necessary, nor indeed proper, since there can be no doubt of their loyalty, and that it is not necessary or usual for people to doubt of such as have such immediate dependance or are in pay, and I think what has been done by the Trinity-House is sufficient for the seamen; I wish all the land-men would do their parts as well. I shall say noe more to you now, but to assure you you shall always find me ready to shew you what kindness I can.

Pray send mee a copy of the Relation of his Majesty's Escape from Worcester;[1] 'tis only for my own satisfaction, and I shall let no copys be taken of it.

11 [MS. i. 24]. Mr Pepys to James, Duke of York [*Copy*].

*June* 4, 1681.

May it please your Royall Highnesse,—I have had the honour of your Royall Highnesse's of the 21st of May, and doe most humbly and readily acquiesce in your Royall Highness's reasonings upon what (from the encouragements I found given to that which was then on foot of the like kind in the Lieutenancy here, and some temporizings which more than my selfe have noted in persons whose past benefits and present dependancys would least have suffered mee to expect them from) I was lately ledd to the presumption of mentioning to your R[oyal] H[ighness] about sea-commanders, etc. But it was barely mentioned and shall have no further place with mee.

For what your Royall Highness is pleased to command from mee touching the Worcester-Paper, my covetousness of rendring it as perfect as the memory of any of the survivers (interested in any part of that memorable story) can enable mee to make it, has led mee into so many and distant enquirys relating thereto, as have kept mee out of a capacity of putting it together as I would, and it ought, and shall be, so soon as

[1] Taken down in shorthand by Pepys from the King's own lips at Newmarket in October 1680, and afterwards written out in longhand.

ever I can possess myselfe of all the memorialls I am in expectation of towards it. Which I shall alsoe (for your Royall Highnesse's satisfaction) use my utmost industry in the hastning; begging your R[oyal] H[ighness] in the mean time to receive this transcript of what I took from his Majesty's own mouth,[1] with a considerable addition I have since obtained to it in writing from Colonel Philips,[2] suitable to what I am promised and daily look for from Father Hurleston.[3] Which humbly tendering to your R[oyal H[ighness], I do in all humility remaine, May it please, etc., Your R[oyal] H[ighness]'s most dutifull, faithfull, and obedient servant,

S. P.

12 [MS. i. 29]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[4]

*Sayes Court, December 6*, 1681.

Sir,—In complyance with your commands, etc., I have sent you already *two large sea-charts*, and now with a *third* I transmit the sheetes I have long since blotted about the late *Dutch-War*,[5] for which I should yet make another apology (besides its præface) were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford,[6] who would not indure I should

[1] At Newmarket in October 1680, see p. 13 above.

[2] Colonel Robert Philips of Salisbury rendered great services to Charles II when he came there on his way to the coast. These are referred to in Pepys's MS. account of the escape from Worcester.

[3] John Huddleston or Hudleston, the priest, attended the King when he took refuge at Moseley after his escape. "A Summary of Occurrences relating to the Miraculous Preservation of . . . Charles II after the Defeat of his Army at Worcester in 1651: Faithfully taken from the personal testimony of those two worthy Roman Catholics, Thomas Whitgrave . . . and Mr John Hudleston, priest," appeared in 1680 (see *D.N.B.*, xxviii. 144).

[4] The first part of this letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 221; but more than half is left out without any indication of an omission. What purports to be a copy of it is also printed in Evelyn's *Memoirs* (Murray's reprint, 1871), p. 675; but it is only an abstract, wrongly dated.

[5] From 1670 to 1674 Evelyn had been at work on a history of the Dutch War, with a view to confuting the "monstrous folio" of Aitzema, the Dutch historian; but the MS. was subsequently lost (see *Diary*, ed. Austin Dobson, vol. i., pp. li.–lii.).

[6] Sir Thomas Clifford, first Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, had been Lord Treasurer from 1672 until his resignation under the Test Act in 1673.

moderate my style when the difference with Holland was to be the subject; nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, though, in justice to truth (evident as the day), I neither would, nor honestly could, conceile (what all the world might see) how subdolusly [1] they dealt, and made us their property all along: The interception of de Lyonne's [2] letter alone to his Master, p. 260, is aboundantly pregnant of this, and ought to open our eyes, unlesse it be that we designe to truckle under that power, and seeke our ruine with industrie. Sir, you will pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot thinke of it without emotion. Now as to the compiler's province; 'tis not easily to be imagined the sea and ocean of *papers*, *treaties*, *declarations*, *relations*, *letters*, and other pieces, that I have ben faine to saile through, reade over, note, and digest, before I set pen to paper; I confesse to you the fatigue was unsufferable, and for the more part did rather oppresse and confound me than inlighten, so much trash there was to sieft and lay by, and I was obliged to peruse all that came to hand, and a better judgement than mine had ben requisite to elect and dispose the materials that were apt for use. And this, Sir, I dare pronounce you will find, before you have prepared all your *materiam substratam* for the noble and usefull worke you are meditating. Nor did I desist here, but had likewise made provision for that which was to follow to the Treaty at *Breda*, though I honestly restored every scrip that had ben furnished me from the cabinets of the Secretaries and other persons which were originals, yet blame myselfe for returning those letters and pieces I received from my Lord Treasurer, because I think I might have retained them with better confidence than he to carry them quite away with him into Devonshire,[3] *unde nullis retrorsum*. That I did not proceede with the rest is accountable to his successor,[4] who

[1] Subdolusly=cunningly.

[2] Hugues de Lionne, Marquis de Berny, was Louis XIV's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[3] On his resignation in 1673, Clifford retired to Ugbrooke, near Exeter, and died there the same year.

[4] Sir Thomas Osborne, better known as Earl of Danby, and afterwards Duke of Leeds. Evelyn expresses the same view of him in his *Diary* (August 18, 1673).

cutting me short of some honest pretensions I had to his kindnesse more than ordinary (if you knew all), I cared not to oblige an ungratefull age; and perhaps the world is delivered by it from a fardle of impertinences. Clifford, his prædecessor, was (abating his other imperfections) a generous man, friendly to me, and I verily believe of cleane hands. I am sure I was obliged to him; the other had ben so to me and mine. A hautie spirit is seldome accompanied with generosity. But that's all past.

I know it has ben wondered upon what pretence I should have sought to sit at the Navy-board, and I have ben as much astonished why some *honoraries* (who sate long there) were no more industrious or usefull than haply I should have ben, whilst to commute for my ignorance of *weare and teare* I might yet perhaps have ben subservient to such a *genius* as Mr Pepys, and by his direction and converse not altogether an unprofitable member. Something you see I should have ben digging for my wages, and serve the master builders, though I were my selfe no architect. But let that go also.

Now to your *quæries*, which I will take in the series you put them downe; and first,

I have nothing relating to the *Prize-Office*; and for that discourse wherein I did attempt to shew how far a gentleman might become very knowing, and to good purpose, by the onely assistance of the modern languages (writen at request of Sir S. Tuke [1] for the now Duke of Norfolk [2]), to my greate regrett I feare 'tis lost, for lending it to *Sir James Shaen* [3] some time since, he tells me he cannot finde it. There is in it a usefull rescention of good authors, and a method of reading them to advantage; besides some thing in the discourse (after my way) which perhaps would not have displeased you; nor was it without purpose of one day publishing it, not for ostentation, but because 'twas written with

[1] Sir Samuel Tuke, the playwright, was the author of "The Adventures of Five Hours," which Pepys praises so highly in the *Diary* (see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys*, p. 134).

[2] Henry Howard, the benefactor of the Royal Society; he succeeded to the Dukedom of Norfolk in 1677.

[3] Probably Sir James Shaen of Kilmore, a Commissioner of Irish Excise. He is referred to in Evelyn's *Diary* for February 29, 1675–6.

a virtuous designe of provoking the Court *fopps*, and for incouragement of illustrious persons who have leasure and inclynations to cultivate their minds beyond the farce, "A *whore* and *a dog*," which (with very little besides) are the confines of their greate understandings. I will yet desire Sir *James* to make (if possible) a more accurate search to recover it when I have an opportunity.

The print of the battail of *Lepanto* you will find thus indorsed , and a description of the naval preparation in *Eighty-Eight*, written in Spanish about that time, which I believe very authentique, marked .

The sculptures of the *Trajan's pillar*, ingraven by *Villamena*, with the notes of Alphonso Ciaconius,[1] referring to the severall bass'-relievos by figures. You will find some hints about the forme of their ships and gallies, as in 57, 243, 260, 153, 24, 235, 236, 239, 152, 155, and especialy 303, where he speakes of the preference of brasse instead of yron worke in ships, and the best season for felling tymber, etc., with other curious notices; but they are but touched, and there is subject of a world of erudition, beyond what *Ciaconius* has don, that would deserve a larger volume.

Sir Francis Drake's *Drake's Journal* (lying amongst a rude and monstrous heape of other bookes and papers) I have not as yet ben able to find-out, but being now about new ranging and making another catalogue of my poore library, I shall not forget to send it you so soone as I lite upon it; In the meane time, I substitute a journal of Sir *Martine Fourbisher's* to the N. West,[2] and of *Captain Fenton's* (both famous sea-men) towards the South as far as Magellan,[3] etc., marked .

[1] Alphonsus Ciaconius, or Chaco, was a famous Spanish Dominican writer. The reference is to his *Historia utriusque Belli Dacici, in Columna Trajana Expressi, cum figuris aeneis*, published at Rome in 1616.

[2] Frobisher made three voyages in search of a North-West Passage.

[3] Edward Fenton's *Journals* of 1578 and 1582-3 are in the Pepysian Library (No. 2133).

A volume in folio of Sir *Richard Browne's Dispatches* during his ministerie in the French Court. They containe onely his correspondencies, not his negotiations, which are not bound up. When you have don with this (if the entertainement affect you) you may command the rest. This begins at 1644.

A packet of original letters to the greate *Earle of Lycester* (14 in number) together with a declaration of William *Prince of Orange*, and the last Will and Testament of the said Earle; which, together with those you have already, are all I can find, redeemed from the fire, and, *spurcis utroque*,[1] marked .

A packet of 33 *original letters* to and from greate persons during the late Rebellion in England, surprized at the battaile of Worcester, etc.

Another *pacquet of letters*, and papers of State, in number (80) marked .

A bundle containing *about* 38 *papers* and fardles, being for the most part instructions and matters of State, etc.

To these, *ex abundanti*, I have cast in a rude copy of what I delivered next to my Lord Arlington concerning the *Fishery* and duty of the *Flag*, marked (1) (2).

And an old draught of a *sea fight* .

A paper writen in French touching the severitie of the *Marine Lawes in France*.

[1] The state of the MS. suggests that Evelyn originally wrote *spurcos utrosque*, and then, being uncertain of his gender, altered it to the ablative absolute. That he was weak in Greek genders appears from the use of τὰν ἄδδε in one of his letters. The meaning of the text appears to be that both the packet of letters which Evelyn was sending, and those which Pepys already had, were grimed by fire.

A booke containing the pay and wages due to the Deputy, army, and government of Ireland.

The map of a *certaine harbour*.


A scheme of the action of the *Dutch at Chatham*, 1667, marked


Lastly, A Relation of his Majesty's *Action and Escape at the fight at Worcester* when he came into France; which Sir Richard Bro[wne] [1] tells me he copied out of the then Queene Mother's letters. This was it which I believed he had taken from his Majesty's owne mouth, for 'tis long since I cast my eye upon it. But (as I told you) there was one realy which Sir Richard did write, his Majesty dictating; and now he calls to mind that he sent the original to *Monsr. Renodaut* to digest and publish in the French *Extraordinaries* of the yeare 1651. I have them bound up with the *Gazetts* of that yeare in French; but I heartily wish we had preserved the originals.

There accompanies this an Order of *Council of State* (as then called) for the apprehension of Charles Stuarte.

Your Memoire speakes of *Cromwell's Letters* (which is, I suppose, mistaken) for I find none amongst all my papers; but of other matters, *letters, petitions, bonds and obligations to be true to the new State, perfidious men betraying divers loyall persons, copies of letters* from his Majesty, and other *letters and transactions*, there are yet by me many thousands; but I suppose I send you enough to wearie you for a time. You also desire *Monsr. Monconys* Travells.[2] I think I informed you that what I read was borrowed of Mr Oldenburg [3] some years since and returned; but is to be found amongst the French bookesellers.

Thus, Sir, you see how ambitious I am to serve you. If in

[1] Sir Richard Browne the diplomatist. From 1641 to 1660 he had been the King's Resident at the Court of France.

[2] Balthazar Monconys' *Journal de ses Voyages*, published at Lyons, 1665–6.

[3] Henry Oldenburg was first Secretary of the Royal Society, 1663–77.

any thing else I may signify to[1] your designe or curiosity, freely command, Your most obedient servant,

J. Evelyn.

These pieces and particulars when you have don with, you may please to take your owne time in returning them.

*Memoire of enquiries given Mr Evelyn by S. P.*[2]

To begg the perusall of what he has writt upon the subject of our last Navall Warr.
Do., his papers relating to the Prize-Office.
Do., the sea-platts he shewed me at Deptford.
Do., the residue of his original letters of State.
Do., Sir Fran[cis] Drake's Journall, which he tells me he has somewhere by him.
Do., his account of Trajan's Pillar.
To looke out for what he seemes to recollect of Sir Walter Raleigh's having somewhere noted touching the difficult defence of England.
To recover his Discourse to Mr Howard touching the best furniture for a Library to be collected out of moderne authors.
Monsr. *Monconys*' account of his travells.
The Battle of Lepanto.
King's Escape.
Two volumes which, as I remember, M. E.[3] tells me he has bound up together of letters to Sir Richard Browne dureing his Ministry in France.
Do., Sir R. B.'s share of the letters of State found among the Council-papers at the King's coming-in.
*Memorandum* that the papers sent me by Mr Brisbane[4] did fully answer Mr E.'s seedule,[5] saveing that there

[1] *I.e.* "give information to."
[2] These enquiries are not in Evelyn's hand.
[3] "M. E." probably stands for "Mr Evelyn."
[4] Probably the John Brisbane, judge-advocate of the fleet, who is several times referred to in the "Admiralty Journal" (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, vol. iv., index).
[5] One of the numerous forms of "schedule."

was none of those mentioned in the postcript relating to Dr Burnet.

13 [MS. i. 31]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*April* 28, 1682.

Sir,—Considering how far your laudable zeale still extends to all things that do any-wayes concerne the actions of this nation at sea, and that you despise not the least things that may possibly be of use, I make no scrupul of sending you all my blotted fragments which yet with no small paines you will find I had collected in order to a further progresse in the History of the late Dutch-War.[2] I should be perfectly ashamed of the *farrago* when I reflect upon the more preceous materials you have amassed, but you know where Virgil found gold,[3] and you will consider that these were onely *minutes* and tumultuary hints relating to ampler pieces, informe and unfit to be put into the building, but prepared to work on. It is not imaginable to such as have not tried, what labour an historian (that would be exact) is condemned to. He must reade all, good and bad, and remove a world of rubbish before he can lay the foundation. So far I had gon, and it was well for me I went no farther, and better for the reader on many accounts, as I am sure you find by what I have already ben so weake as to shew you, and yet I cannot forbeare. You will find among the rest in a little essay, how what I have written in *English* would shew in *Latine*; ashamed as I was to see the historie of that warr published in that universal and learned language, and that in just and specious[4] volumes, whilst we onely told our tale to our selves, and suffered the indignities of those who prepossessed the world to our prejudice; and you know how difficult a thing it is to play an after game when men's minds

[1] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 224.

[2] See note 5 on p. 14 above.

[3] Evelyn seems to be referring here to Virgil's power of transmuting base materials into golden verse.

[4] In the earlier sense of beautiful or attractive.

are perverted and their judgments prepossessed. Our sloth and silence in this diffusive age, greedy of intelligence and publique affaires, is a greate fault, and I wonder our polititians that are at [the] helme take no more care of it, since we see what advantages reputation alone carries with it in *Holland*, *Genoa*, *Venice*, and even our *East-India Company's* action, whereas all wise men know they are neither so rich, wise, or powerfull as they would be thought intrinsecaly, and that it is the credite and estimation the vulgar has of them which renders them considerable. It was on this account I chose the action at Bergin ;[1] not that I thought it to be the most glorious and discreete (for in truth I thinke much otherwise) but for that the exploit was intire, and because I had seene what the *Dane* had published in *Latine* so much to our dishonor. How close I have kept to my text you will find by collation, and whether nervous and sound none can better judge, and that I did not proceede needes not be told you. The peace was concluded ; my patron resigned his staff ; his successor was unkind and unjust to me. The Dutch Ambassador complaind of my *Treatise of Commerce and Navigation*,[2] which was intended but for a prolusion, and published by his Majesty's encouragement before the peace was quite ratified, though not publiquely told till afterwards. In summe, I had no thankes for what I had don, and have ben accounted since (I suppose) a useless fop, and fit onely to plant coleworts, and I can't bussle, nor yet bend to meane submissions, and this, Sir, is the historie of your historian. I confesse to you I had once the vanity to hope (had my patron continued in his station) for some (at least) *honorary* title that might have animated my progresse, as seeing then some amongst them whose talents I did not envy ; but it was not my fortune to succeede. If I were a young man, and had the vanity to believe any industry of mine might recommend me to the friendship and esteeme of Mr Pepys, as I take him to be of a

[1] On Sir Thomas Teddeman's attempt to seize the Dutch East India ships in the neutral port of Bergen in August 1665, see F. R. Harris, *Edward Mountagu, first Earl of Sandwich*, i. 325 ff.

[2] Evelyn's *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress*, published in 1674, was the preface to his lost History of the Dutch War.

more inlarged and generous soule, so I should not doubt but he would promote this ambition of mine, and not thinke one that would labour for the honour of his country in my way unworthy some reguard. This almost prompts me to say the same to him that *Joseph* did to *Pharoh's* exauctorated butler (whose restauration to grace he predicted): *Tantum memento mei, cum bene tibi fuerit*; Thinke on me when it shall be well with thee; and so Farewell, deare Sir, J. E.

*Raptim.*

14 [MS. i. 32]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Says-Court, June* 8, 1684.

Sir,—With your excellent book,[1] I returne you likewise my most humble thanks for your inducement of me to reade it over againe; finding in it severall things (as you told me) omitted in the Latine (which I had formerly read with greate delight) still new, still surprizing, and the whole hypothesis so ingenious and so rational, that I both admire and believe it at once. I am infinitely pleased with his thoughts concerning the Universe (intellectual and material) in relation to this despicable mole-hill on which we mortals crawle, and keepe such a stirr about as if the τὸ πᾶν (this *All*) were created for us little vermine. 'Twas ever my thoughts, since I had the use almost of reason. I know nothing of the author's person or circumstances, but he has a genius greate, and bravely inlarges the empire of our narrow speculations and repent[2] spirits, whose contemplations extend no farther than their sense. In the meane time, I cannot but wonder any man should imagine that this *theorie* does in the least derogate from the H[oly] Scriptures, as some peevish and odd men (I have met with) pretend. Was ever any thing better sayd to convince the atheist than what he has written concerning matter and motion and the Universal Providence, to the

[1] The first part of Thomas Burnet's *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, published in Latin in 1681 and in English in 1684.

[2] "Repent" in botany and zoology = "creeping."

reproch of chance and our contingent fops? There needes no more than his 10th and 11th chappters, lib. 2, utterly to confound those unthinking wretches. In a word, Sir, the gentleman has doubtlesse a noble and large soule, and one would wish to be acquainted with him; for one that is so bright, and happy in his owne thoughts, cannot but influence and illuminate all that converse him, with that generous and becoming candor which is due to so much reason, and to greate delight. I am, Sir, for this and innumerable civilities, Sir, Your most humble and faithfull servant, J. Evelyn.

Mr Flamsted[1] has lately advertized me of an eclipse of the moone which will happen the 17th of this moneth about 3 in the morning, and wished I would give you notice of it, that if your leasure permitted he might have the honor of your company; and I should readily waite upon you.

15 [MS. i. 27]. An Account of his Majesty King James II.'s going from Whitehall. December 18, 1688.[2]

The night before, being the 17th, and the day after his Majesty's returne from Feversham,[3] his Majesty going to bed at his usual time, I went to see all the doors leading to the bedchamber made fast, which is the duty of the Page in Waiting, and then went to bed, being then about 12 a clock. I had been but little in bed before my man came-up to mee and said: My Lord Middleton[4] is come to the back-stairs and would speak with you. At which I putt-on some cloaths and went down to his Lordship, who told me he must speak with the King. Upon which I took a light in my hand and went towards the bed-chamber, but at the back-stairs-door, going into the drawing-room, where I left English centinels when I

[1] John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal.
[2] In the hand of John Jackson, Pepys's nephew.
[3] Faversham.
[4] Charles, second Earl of Middleton, was a Secretary of State to James II, and had been instrumental in inducing him to return from Faversham to Whitehall.

went to bed, I now found Dutch, who made some difficulty in letting us pass. When wee came to the bed-chamber-door, I prayd his Lordship to stay till I had acquainted the Lord in Waiting; which his Lordship did. I went-in and told the Lord Ailesbury,[1] who answered, Let him in. When wee came to the bed-side, the curtains being opened, his Majesty was fast asleep. My Lord Middleton kneeled down by the bed-side, and called, Sir; at which his Majesty awaked.

My Lord told the King that there were some Lords from the Prince of Orange that had sent him word they must needs speak with his Majesty that night.

KING. After some little pawse, the King said, Must they come to night? Cannot they stay till to morrow?

LORD M. Sir, I tell your Majesty what they sent to me.

KING. Where are they, my Lord?

LORD M. Indeed, Sir, I do not know.

KING. Well, let them come, my Lord.

Upon which my Lord going away, I drew the curtains close again and lighted my Lord into the drawing-room; when my Lord going-on said, Mr Man, you must not goe to bed; you hear what the King saith. I staid about halfe an hour, and then came my Lord with the Lords Hallifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere.

When they came to the King's bedside, the Lord H. from under an open cover pulled-out another open paper, which he gave to his Majesty, who read the same to him. After which he said to the Lords,

KING. Ham-House is but a little house and not bigg enough; besides there's no furniture in it.

LORD D. Sir, there's care taken for that.

LORD H. Which way will your Majesty goe? By land, or by water?

KING. I do not know yet.

LORD H. Your Majesty sees the Prince of Orange desires you will bee gone before 12 to morrow.

KING. Yes, yes, my Lord; there's time enough for

[1] Thomas Bruce, second Earl of Ailesbury, had also been one of the Lords who persuaded James to return.

that: but the King said it over again, that Ham-House was not bigg enough; I cannot have any of my people about me.

Lord H. Your Majesty sees the Prince of Orange desires you will be gone before 12 to morrow.

King. Well, well, my Lord, I'll give order time enough.

Upon which the Lords going away, the King called my Lord Middleton to him. Upon which my Lord calls to me to call back the Lords; the King would speak with them. When they came,

The King said, Ham-House was by much too little; and that it was not possible for him to be there, and said he had rather goe to Rochester; there were some of his Foot-Guards.

Lords. Your Majesty sees wee cannot say any thing to that.

King. Well, but you may send to the Prince of Orange; hee is not so far off, he is but at Sion.

Lords. Looking upon one another for a small time, one of them broke silence, and said, Then, if your Majesty pleases, wee'l send to the Prince of Orange.

King. Ay, pray doe.

Then the Lords withdrew, and as I was going-out of the bed-chamber his Majesty calls to me, and bid me call him at 7 of the clocke, which was halfe an hour sooner than hee had given order for when he went to bed.

As soon as his Majesty was out of his bed, hee bidd me send to the Meuse[1] and to have his coaches and pads bee got ready, and there to stay till further order. Which I did. Then his Majesty bidd me send for all his barges, and bidd them to be at the Privy Stairs by nine of the clock.

At 10 or thereabouts, an order came from the Prince of Orange that his Majesty might goe to Rochester. Upon which his Majesty ordred me to take some watermen and carry his strong-boxes into his barge: which I did. But in going down the stairs the Dutch centinels stopt me. I told them in French, That they were the King's goods, and must goe into his barge. One of them answered me in French, It was no matter, if the King himselfe came, he should not pass,

[1] *I.e.*, Mews.

for he had orders to the contrary. Upon which I went back into the bed-chamber and complained to Count Solmes;[1] who seemed to be very angry with the officer that commanded, and gave other orders.

16 [MS. i. 33]. Copy of the Warrant of May 4, 1689, for the Arrest of Pepys, Hewer, and Deane.

Charles, Earle of Shrew[s]bury, Waterford, and Wexford, etc., Principall Secretary of State and one of his Majestye's most Honorable Privy Councill:

These are in his Majestye's name to authorise and require you, taking to your assistance a constable, to make diligent search for the bodyes of Sir Anthony Dean, Kt., Samuell Pepps, and Hewers, Esqres., who are suspected of dangerous and tresonable practices against his Majestye's Government, and them having found or any of them, to apprehend and bring them before me to answer to such matters as shall be objected against them, in order to their being proceeded against according to law; and herein all Mayors, Sherriffs, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and others whom it may concern, are required to be aiding and assisting unto you, for which this shall be to you and them a sufficient warrant. Given att the Court att White hall the 4 day of May, 1689.

Shrewsbury.

To Isaac Cotton, one of the Messengers of his Majestye's Chamber in Ordinary.

*June* 18, 1689.

A true copy of the Earl of Shrewsbury's Warrant of the 4th day of May, 1689; the original whereof remaining in my custody. Is. Cotton.

Sir Anthony Dean, Mr Pepps, and Mr Hewers to be taken into costody.

[1] Heinrich Maastricht Solms, Count of Solms-Braunfels, was commander of William's Dutch Guards.

17 [MS. i. 34]. Mr Vernon[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Whitehall, June* 15, [1689].

Sir,—My Lord Shrewsbury commands me to acquaint you that hee can now discharge you from confinement if you think fitt to give baile for your appearance the first day of the next terme; and if the notice bee any way gratefull to you, I am glad I have the signifying of it, who am, Sir, Your faithfull, humble servant, Ja. Vernon.

Sir Anthony Dean and Mr Hewers may have the same benefitt; I hope I may trouble you to lett them know so much. The baile that has been given by Colonel Grahme,[2] Mr Harpe, and some others, has been 1000*l.* the principall, and 1000 for one or more suretys.

18 [MS. i. 35.] Mr Cotton the King's Messenger's Receipt [*Original*].

Whereas by virtue of a warrant from the Right Honourable the Earle of Shrewsbury, Principall Secretary of State, dated the 4 May 1689, I did apprehend the boddys of Sir Anthony Deane, Kt., Samuell Pepys, and William Hewer, Esquires, on the 5th of the said month, and them keepe in my custody untill the 15th June 1689, at which time they were discharged thereout by order of the aforesaid Earle of Shrewsbury, amounting to 42 days, I doe hereby acknowledge to have received from Samuell Pepys, Esqre., in full satisfaction for the fees due to me thereon as one of his Majesty's Messengers of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary, the summe of fourteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and 4*d.* Witness my hand this 18 day of June, 1689. Is. Cotton.

| *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|
| 14 | 13 | 4 |

Witness:

P. Lorrain.[3]

Christopher Todd.

[1] James Vernon was Shrewsbury's private secretary.

[2] Colonel James Graham, who was in the confidence of James II, and therefore a friend to Pepys.

[3] On Paul Lorrain, see note on p. 168 below.

19 [MS. i. 36]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*June* 11, [1690].

My deare and worthy Friend,—For under that compellation permit me sometimes to value my-selfe in a period so rare to find him.

When I reflect (as who can but reflect) upon what you were pleased to communicate to me yesterday,[2] so many and so different passions crowd on my thoughts, that I know not which first to give vent to: indignation, pitty, sorrow, contempt, and anger; love, esteeme, admiration, and all that can expresse the most generous resentments of one who cannot but take part in the cause of an injured and worthy person! With what indignation for the malevolence of these men, pitty of their ignorance and folly, sorrow and contempt of their malice and ingratitude, do I looke upon and despise them! On the other side, in what bonds and obligations of love, esteeme, and just admiration, ought we to reguard him who dares expose himselfe to all this suffering with so intrepid a resolution, because his innocence and merites will not onely justifie him to all the world, but to it and to his country, if sensible of their obligations, and the injuries some base and envious men have laboured to do him, they become worthy of him. I speake not this to flatter my friend, nor needes he my comfort or counsel; he has within him and of his owne bravely to support him. It would go very ill with me else, who have the same thoughts and principles, and set my heart upon the person that every day accumulates to the greate esteeme I have for greate merites and no lesse vertue, in an age so degenerate and voide of both. I protest (in the meane time) and that sincerely, that I am so far from being concerned that these angrie men (whose folly I pitty) so unjustly provoke you, that I thinke they could not have contributed more to your honour and their owne deserved

[1] Two paragraphs from this letter, somewhat condensed, are printed in Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, ii. 353.

[2] An entry in Evelyn's *Diary* shews that on June 10 Pepys had read over to his friend his *Memoires of the Royal Navy*, which he afterwards decided to publish.

reproche. So reasonable, so every way ingenuous; in so just, modest, and generous a style; in a word, so perfectly consummate is your excellent remonstrance, and so incontestably vouched! This, Sir, is my sense of it, and I value my selfe upon my judgement of it, that it will stand like a rock, and dash in pieces all the effects and efforts of spitefull and implacable men, who because they cannot bravely emulate, envie your worth and would thus seacretly undermine it. But you are safe, and I will boldly say that whoever shall honestly compile the historie of these prodigious and wonderfull Revolutions (as far as concernes this miserable and unhappy kingdome) has already the most shining and illustrious part drest to his hand, if there be any of that profession who dare do right to Truth in so vitious an age, be the event what it will; And that unlesse we pluck-out our owne eyes, wee must see in spite of 'em that you and your collegues have stood in the breach when the safety of a nation was in uttmost danger, and by whose prudence, experience, and industrie it can onely be yet rescued from perishing now. Do not think I speake a big word, or am so vaine to believe you are to be taken with magnificent sounds (though a lover of Music); I have no such designe and you know me better. But I have deepely and sadly considered the state and circumstances into which we are unhappily fallen; and that no personal resentments, or reflections on the useage from ungratefull and wicked men whatsoever, ought to cancel our endeavors to support one's native country, what ever sacrifice we make with honour and a good conscience. Wherefore, as I cannot but approve of what you have so maturely digested, so nor can I but wish to see it published; the just and proper timing of which is (as with yourselfe) with me the onely remaining difficulty, which may perhaps require consideration, and that for the objections occuring to you: should it be looked-on as if you feared it should have seene the light 'til the King's back was turned and the late Parliament scattered by this adjournement, etc.; that you steale it now out before their next session, to conciliate friends and make a party, etc. Whilst *these* or the like suggestions may perhaps (though of no real

force) cause your suspence, why might you not resolve to communicate your thoughts to my Lord Godolphin,[1] whom you will allow and find to be a person of a cleare discernment and greate probitie, and has (to my certaine knowledge) the same honourable sentiments with your selfe, and upon whose integrity you may relie, and determine according as you see cause? Thus, Sir, I take the boldnesse to give you my calmest thoughts upon this article; since you are pleased so far to honour me as to give me so greate a share in your confidence, who am, and (with very greate respect) shall ever remaine, Sir, Your most faithfull and intirely devoted friend and servant, J. Evelyn.

*Verte.*[2]

*June* 12.

Sir,—I had begun this letter very late the last night, when company was gon, when on a suddaine so very painefull a fit of the colic surprized my poore wife that put me into greate disorder; but, I thank God, (after a night of much torment) having ben let blood, with other applications, she is now at much ease: she had else appointed this very day (and by long designement) to have gon to Clapham to visite that good person Mrs Ewers, as she still intends to do so soone as shee is a little better composed.

The addresse I gave a poore modest creature last night has I believe 'ere this fully answered the character I gave you of his out-side, and what I left in your hands of his, that the noblest accomplishments lie often hid *sub lacera tunica.*

20 [MS. i. 37]. Mr Evelyn's Censure of S. P.'s Memoires [*Holograph*].

*In Rei Memoriam.*

I have seene and perused certaine *Memoires relating to the Royal Navy of England for Ten yeares*, etc., And am so

[1] Sidney Godolphin, first Earl of Godolphin, was one of the last adherents of James II.

[2] Evelyn's continuation of June 12 is overleaf in the MS.

throughly convinced of the truth of every period, both as to what has ben don towards the extricating of it out of the ruinous circumstances under which it then laboured, and the greate improvements it has since received by the integrity, prudence, courage, and industrie of the person who has written it, etc., that, as I judge no man on earth so fit to restore the Navy againe (now in all appearance hastning to as deplorable, if not to a worse state and condition), so should he and his collegues decline to set their hands to its restauration and recovery againe, the fate and preservation of their countrie (than which nothing ought to be more deare, so depending, being thereto required, he the writer, and they whom he may think fit to call to his assistance, ought to be animadverted on as enemies and betrayers of it. *Ita Testor*, J. Evelyn.

*June* 17, 1690.

21 [MS. i. 38]. Order for Mr Pepys's Liberation from the Gatehouse [*Copy*].

*Whitehall, July* 14, 1690.

Whereas Dr Lower[1] has this day certified by oath before us that Mr Samuel Pepys, who was lately committed by this Board to the Gate-house, is so very ill with an ulcer in his kidnies that unless he be speedily enlarged from his present confinement he is in danger of death: We doe therefore hereby refer it to your Lordship to cause baile to be taken for his appearance the first day of the Sessions at the Olde Baily in August next.

Carmarthen P.[2]

| | |
|---|---|
| Norfolk. | Newport. |
| Bolton. | J. Wharton. |
| Devonshire. | J. Lowther. |
| Bath. | Rd. Hamden. |
| Mountague. | H. Powell. |
| H. Boscowen. | Edw. Russel. |

[1] Richard Lower was the most noted London physician of the day.

[2] Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, was now Marquess of Carmarthen and Lord President of the Council; in 1694 he was created Duke of Leeds.

22 [MS. i. 39]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*August* [14,[2]] 1690.

Sir,—This hasty script is to acquaint you that my Lord Bishop of St Asaph [3] will take it for an honour to be thought able to give Mr Pepys any light in those mysteries you and I have discoursed of. He would himselfe waite upon you, but I did not think it convenient to receive that compliment for you at first. To morrow (Friday) his Lordship says, he eating no dinner, shall be alone, and ready to receive your commands, if it be as seasonable for you. I suppose about 3 a clock in the afternoone may be a convenient time for me to waite upon you to his Lordship; or at what other sooner houre you appoint.

J. E.

The Lords in the Tower, and other prisoners against whom there is no special matter chargeable, are to be freed upon baile. My Lord Clarendon [4] is also within that qualification, as the Bishop tells me.

23 [MS. i. 40]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[5]

*Deptford, September* 26, 1690, *Morning.*

Sir,—*Si vales, bene est*, etc. Without more ceremonie then (and that my small excursion be no impediment to the perfecting your Collection)—to your *quæries*. In the days of Queen Elizabeth (for before her time I hardly heare of any) came over one *Crispin van de Pas*, and in King James's (her succes-

[1] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 248, and extracts, inaccurately copied, in Smith, ii. 354.

[2] As the interview with the Bishop of St Asaph took place on August 15 (Evelyn's *Diary*), the date of this letter must have been August 14.

[3] Dr William Lloyd, one of the Seven Bishops. He was an eager student of the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse, and claimed to be able "to read the prophecies as he read history" (*D.N.B.*, xxxiii. 437).

[4] Henry Hyde, the son of the famous Earl of Clarendon, an intimate friend of Evelyn's, had been sent to the Tower on June 25, 1690, the same day on which Pepys was imprisoned in the Gatehouse. He was released on August 15, Evelyn being one of his sureties.

[5] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 249; but the editor omits the concluding sentence and incorporates the postscript in the text.

sor) his brother *Symon* (who calls himselfe *Pasæus*)[1], and afterwards then and in Charles the first's time one *Elstrack*,[2] *Stock*, *De La Keem*,[3] and *Miriam*; and of our owne countrymen, *Cecil*,[4] *Martin*, *Vaughan*, and especialy *John Paine*[5] (for I forbeare to honor *Marshial*,[6] *Crosse*,[7] and some other lamentable fellows) who engraved the effigies of the noblemen, etc., then flourishing. These prints were sold by *George Humble* and *Sudbury*, at the Pope's-Head in Cornhill; by *Jenner*[8] at the Exchange, one *Seager* I know not where, and *Roger Daniel*; but who had the most choice was *Mr Peake* neere Holborn Conduict; and if there be any who can direct you where you may most likely heare what became of their plates and works of this kind, I believe no body may so well informe you as *Mr Faithorn*[9] (father to the bookseller) who, if I am not mistaken, was apprentice to *Sir William Peake*[10] for both he and *Humble* were made knights), and therefore it may be worth your while to enquire of him. There came after wards (you know) *Lucas*,[11] *Vosterman*,[12] *Hollar*,[13] *Lombart*,[14] and other excellent artists, but these were of later times which you do not enquire of them. They wrought after *Van Dyke*, the Arundelian Collection,[15] and best painters, and now of late the skillfull in Mezzo Tinto masters, who for imitation of the life sometimes exceede the burine it selfe, never so accurately handled. But of this enough.

I send you, Sir, my face, such as it was *of yore*, but is now so *no more tanto mutata* and with it what you may find harder

[1] On the engravers Crispin and Simon van de Pas, see *D.N.B.*, xliii. 443.
[2] On Renold Elstracke, the Belgian engraver, see *ib.*, xvii. 336.
[3] On Francis Delaram (*d.* 1627), see *ib.*, xiv. 312.
[4] On Thomas Cecil, see *ib.*, ix. 405.
[5] On John Payne, see *ib.*, xliv. 110.
[6] On William Marshall, see *ib.*, xxxvi. 251.
[7] On Thomas Cross, see *ib.*, xiii. 223.
[8] On Thomas Jenner, engraver and printseller, see *ib.*, xxix. 325.
[9] On the William Faithornes, father and son, see *ib.*, xviii. 154, 155.
[10] Possibly Sir William Peake, Alderman of London, knighted 1663.
[11] Lucas of Leyden (*d.* 1533).
[12] Johannes Vorstermans is referred to in Evelyn's *Diary* (January 23, 1677–8).
[13] On Wenceslaus Hollar, see *D.N.B.*, xxvii. 160.
[14] On Pierre Lombart, the French engraver, see *ib.*, xxxiv. 94.
[15] On the collections of Evelyn's friend, Henry Howard, afterwards sixth Duke of Norfolk, see *ib.*, xxviii. 32.

to procure) the Earle of *Notingham*, Lord High Admiral,[1] which, though it make gap in my poore Collection (to which it was glued) I most cherefully bestow upon you, and would accompanie it with the other two, were I master of them. I have *Sir George Villars*[2] when a youth and newly dignified, in a small trifling print, not at all fit for you who ought to have him when he was *Duke* and *Admiral*, and of such there are extant many easily to be had. I am sure his picture is before several flattering dedications, though at present I do not well remember where; But this I do, that there is a *taille douce*[3] of that mighty favourite (almost as big as the life, and nothing inferior to any of the famous Nanteuil's)[4] graven by one *Jacob of Delph* in Holand from a painting of *Miereveld*, that were well worth the sending even into Holand for, and for what ever else is of this kind of that incomparable workeman's hand. I have once seene of it, and tooke this notice of it, to mention in a new edition of my *Chalcographie*,[5] when I have leasure to revise that trifle.

Lastly, As to my Lord *Chancelor Hide*, though I have not his effigies among the rest that I have huddled together (allways presuming to get it of my Lord Clarendon but perpetualy forgetting to aske it), yet I can direct you where you may certainely come by it, and perhaps already have it in your Library. If not, 'tis but inquiring where *Sir W. Dugdale's History of the Lord Chancelors* was printed,[6] and there you'l find him; and the rest of the Long Robe, if you have a mind to them.

[1] Charles Howard, second Baron Howard of Effingham, created Earl of Nottingham in 1596, was Lord High Admiral of England from 1585 to 1618.

[2] George Villiers was ennobled as Viscount Villiers in 1616, when he was only 24. He became Lord High Admiral in 1619, and Duke of Buckingham in 1623.

[3] Engraving on a metal plate with a burin, as distinguished from dry point and from etching.

[4] Pepys had begun to collect the prints of Robert Nanteuil, the famous French engraver, as early as 1669 (*Diary*, January 25 and February 16, 1668–9). He engraved the heads of Evelyn and his wife (*Diary*, June 13, 1650).

[5] "Sculptura; or the History and Art of Chalcography . . . to which is annexed a new manner of engraving on mezzotinto . . .," published in 1662.

[6] "*Origines Juridiciales*, . . . also a Chronology of the late Chancellors and other Judges and eminent Lawyers," was published in 1666.

Thus, Sir, in returne to your letter I have given you a desultory account of your enquiries, as far as on the suddain I am able, and shall (so soone as I am at liberty) be most ready to receive what other commands you reserve for, Sir, Your most humble, faithfull servant, J. Evelyn.

Have you ben at Mr Baker's shop neere the Old Exchange? Cannot Mr *White* furnish you? I am deceived if he has not graven most of the Chancelors since his Majesty's Restauration.

24 [MS. i. 41]. Mr Pepys to his Sureties [*Copy*].[1]

*Wednesday evening, October* 15, 1690.

Being this day become once againe a free man, in every respect (I mean) but that of my obligations to you and the rest of my friends to whom I stand indebted for my being soe, I think it but a reasonable part of my duty to pay you and them my first thanks for it in a body; but know not how otherwise to compass it than by begging you (which I hereby doe) to take your share with them and me here to morrow of a piece of mutton, which is all I dare promise you besides that of my being ever, Your most bounden and faithful humble servant, S. P.

A copy of a circular letter to my severall suretys, viz. Sir Peter Palavicini, Mr James Houblon, Mr Blackborne, and Mr Martin; Mr Hewer being at home with me.

25 [MS. i. 42]. Dr Mountagu[2] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Trin. Coll. Camb., December* 9, 1690.

Sir,—I humbly thank you for the present you was pleased to send me by your nephew. It is a subject I shall very much delight to peruse by reason of the near alliance I once had to

[1] Printed, but without the final note, in Braybrooke, iv. 248, and in Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, ii. 352.

[2] Dr John Mountagu, a younger son of the Earl of Sandwich, was at this time Master of Trinity. His letter is to acknowledge a copy of Pepys's *Memoires of the Royal Navy*.

it by my Father, and particularly for the sake of it's author, to whose friendship I am so much indebted and for whose knowledge and experience in our naval affairs it may justly be said that the whole nation is your debtor too. I am very sorry that a person so greatly experienced in all those affairs should not be continued in the service of the publick, but, Sir, since it is, I cannot call it your but our misfortune not to enjoy the advantages of so eminent a service. All the world in the meantime must own the generosity of your temper, that whilst you are retired, you still are desirous to promote the publick welfare of the kingdom. Sir, Your very affectionate, obliged, humble servant, Jo. Mountagu.

26 [MS. i. 43]. Mr Christie to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Westminster, December* 16, 1690.

Sir,—I dare not pretend to an interest in your freindship, but hearing that you have furnished severall Members [1] with your usefull booke, I have incouraged my self into a confidence that you will also oblige, Sir, Your most humble servant,

Tho. Christie.

27 [MS. i. 44]. Mr Pepys to Dr Mountagu [2] [*Copy*].

*December* 20, 1690.

Sir,—You have said much too much in favour both of my present and mee; but if it were fit for me to admit there were any thing either in the one or the other worthy the good word you bestow on them, you know and I most gratefully acknowledge whose memory alone it is that I owe it to, I mean my noble Lord your Father's, and in deference to which I believed myselfe bound to make you in particular privy to what I have been doing relateing to the Navie since (I thank God) I have had no more to doe in it. I am, Honoured Sir, Your ever most obedient servant, [S. P.].

[1] Mr Thomas Christie was a Member of Parliament.
[2] See note on p. 36 above.

28 [MS. i. 45]. Mr Pepys to Mr Hewer [*Copy*].[1]

*December* 23, 1690.

Mr Hewer,—I don't know how to let goe what you observed to me yesterday, touching the late learned descant made among some of our Admirals upon the words at the bottom of my printed head, without telling you that I could be well contented Mr Sotherne [2] were told (when next he comes in the way of Mr Martin) that whatever reckoning I may make of his learning, I owne too great an esteem for that of my Lord of Pembroke's to think it possible for him to misplace upon me the honour of answering for a sentence soe much above my ambition of fathering, or the authority of any man else to censure but he (if any such there be) that would be thought a Latinist orator and philosopher fit to stand-up with Cicero, whose very words these are in that excellent and most divine chapter, his Somnium Scipionis, viz. :

Tu vero enitere; et sic habeto, te non esse mortalem, sed corpus hoc. Nec enim is es, quem forma ista declarat; sed *Mens cujusque is est quisque*,[3] non ea figura, quæ digito demonstrari potest.

A thought derived to him from Plato, and wrought-upon after him by St Paul. I am, Your most affectionate servant,

S. P.

29 [MS. i. 46]. Sir John Werden [4] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*St James's, December* 26, 1690.

Sir,—I lately saw your picture at the begining of a booke, and presently [5] was earnest to see your mind within it; and the small tyme I had (by the indulgence of a freind) to consider it hath not fully satisfyed me, but hath rather made me

[1] Printed in Braybrooke, iv. 250.

[2] See note on p. 50 below.

[3] Pepys's motto, which appears on his book-plates and also on the exterior of the Pepysian Library at Cambridge.

[4] Sir John Werden was at this time Treasurer to the Queen. His letter asks for a copy of Pepys's *Memoires of the Royal Navy*, with the author's portrait as a frontispiece. See also pp. 2, 11 above.

[5] *I.e.*, immediately.

desirous of fixing those impressions more strongly than that short opportunity could doe.

I hope you have not yet given them all away; and if soe, I will owne to you that I beg one of yours (without the least of reluctance) for, Sir, Your very humble servant,

Jo. Werden.

[1690].

30 [MS. i. 47]. A copy of Mr Hawley [1] (Secretary of the Royal Society) his letter to Mr Haughton, Fellow thereof,[2] giving his opinion touching the contents (in acres) of the whole, and each distinct county of England and Wales; with the method of computing the same.

Sir,—You engaged me not long since to give you an estimate of the quantity of land contained in the Kingdom of England, which you conceive may be of use to you in your design of the improvements of Husbandry and Trade. The question is of that nature that I presume a million or two of acres will break no squares, and to nearer than that I believe the very best of our maps are not true. The method I took for the doing it was by weighing in nice scales that part of the sheet-map of England copied from Mr Adams [3] (which I esteem the best) that represents the land, and comparing the weight of the whole with that of a circle, taken out of the middle of the map, whose diameter was 138 2/3 miles or two degrees, (which is the greatest that the kingdom can afford, being so much between the Severn-Sea in the west and the inlet by Lynn Regis in the east; so that the most distant place in England from salt-water is not above 70 miles; but how far the rivers may be

[1] Edmund Halley the astronomer was Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society from 1685 until 1693.

[2] On John Houghton, the writer on agriculture and trade, see *D.N.B.*, xxvii. 422. Halley's letter may have served as material for "An Account of the Acres and Houses, with the proportional tax . . . of each county in England and Wales," a sixpenny sheet published by Houghton in 1693. It is reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, x. 596.

[3] John Adams, a barrister of the Inner Temple, had issued in 1685 a revised edition of his large map of 1677 under the title, *Angliae totius Tabula*.

navigable, and how far the inland countys may be benefitted by them, is a question well worth enquiry and very much conducing to your designe), I found that the land of the whole map, together with the Isles of Wight, Anglesey, and Man, weighed just four times as much as the said circle, and consequently that the acres in the whole kingdome were 4 times as many as in the circle, which are by computation 9,645,000; whence the whole kingdom must be 38,660,000 acres; and this I believe to be no wide conjecture. But from it you are to deduct for the roads, rivers, and unimprovable mountains according to judgment. When my hand was in, I thought it might tend to the same end, or be otherwise serviceable to you, to give you the acres of each county of England, which I have derived from the same method of weighing, having cut a six-sheet-map in pieces for that purpose, in which each 40,000 acres weighed about a grain. In this I took care to avoid two inconveniences: the one, that the map consisting of several sheets of paper, they were found to be of different thickness or compactness, so as to make a sensible difference, which obliged me to examine the proportion between the weight and area in each sheet; the other was that the moisture of the air imbibed by the paper did very notably increase its weight, which made me very well dry the pieces before I weighed them, that so I might be assured there was no error upon that account, and in so doing I found that in a very few minutes of time their weight would sensibly encrease by their re-imbibing the humidity out of the air. This method I conceive exact enough for the uses you design; and that I have not much erred will appear by the consent of this tryall with the former. The acres of each county are as follows:

| | *Acres.* | | *Acres.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kent . . . | 1,248,000 | Cornwall . . | 960,000 |
| Sussex . . . | 1,140,000 | Essex . . . | 1,240,000 |
| Hampshire . . | 1,162,000 | Middlesex . . | 247,000 |
| Isle of Wight . | 150,500 | Surrey . . . | 592,000 |
| Dorsetshire . . | 772,000 | Berks . . . | 527,000 |
| Devonshire . . | 1,920,000 | Bucks . . . | 441,000 |

| | *Acres.* |
|---|---|
| Wilts | 876,000 |
| Gloucester | 800,000 |
| Somersetshire | 1,075,000 |
| Suffolk | 995,000 |
| Hertford | 451,000 |
| Oxford | 534,000 |
| Bedford | 260,000 |
| Worcester | 540,000 |
| Hereford | 660,000 |
| Norfolk | 1,148,000 |
| Cambridg | 570,000 |
| Huntington | 240,000 |
| Northampton | 550,000 |
| Warwick | 670,000 |
| Stafford | 810,000 |
| Shropshire | 890,000 |
| Lincoln | 1,740,000 |
| Nottingham | 560,000 |
| Leicester | 560,000 |
| Rutland | 110,000 |
| Derby | 680,000 |
| Cheshire | 720,000 |
| York | 3,770,000 |
| Lancaster | 1,150,000 |
| Durham | 610,000 |
| Westmerland | 510,000 |
| Cumberland | 1,040,000 |
| Northumberland | 1,370,000 |
| *Wales.* | |
| Monmouth | 340,000 |
| Carmarthen | 700,000 |
| Glamorgan | 540,000 |
| Pembroke | 420,000 |
| Radnor | 310,000 |
| Brecknock | 620,000 |
| Cardigan | 520,000 |
| Mongomery | 560,000 |
| Merioneth | 500,000 |
| Flint | 160,000 |
| Denbigh | 410,000 |
| Carnarvan | 370,000 |
| Anglesey | 200,000 |
| In all | 39,938,500 |

Which is not the 3000th part of the surface of the globe of the Earth, and not above the 1500th part of the habitable world. I am, Your very humble servant, E. H.

*Postscript.*

By Mr Norwood's survey of the distance between York and London,[1] he concludes that 69½ English miles make a degree of a great circle of the Earth, and since Monsr. Picart[2] by a more accurate tryal finds the sayd degree to containe 57,060 toises or French fathoms, which reduced to our measure is 69⅙ miles, wherefore, taking the mean, I suppose a degree

[1] Richard Norwood, a surveyor, made this measurement in person, between June 1633 and June 1635.

[2] Jean Picard, the distinguished French astronomer (*fl.* 1667–71).

69⅓ miles. I took two sorts of maps, for that their consent might give a greater confirmation to the conclusion derived from this method; the sheet mapp of Adams for the whole, and the other of 6 sheets copied from Saxton,[1] wherein the sea-coast is reputed to be layd downe with more than ordinary care.

A transcript of the foregoing list of counties in order alphabetical:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anglesey | 200,000 | Lancaster | 1,150,000 |
| Bedford | 260,000 | Leicester | 560,000 |
| Berks | 527,000 | Lincolne | 1,740,000 |
| Brecknock | 620,000 | Merioneth | 500,000 |
| Bucks | 441,000 | Middlesex | 247,000 |
| Cambridge | 570,000 | Mongomery | 560,000 |
| Cardigan | 120,000 | Monmouth | 340,000 |
| Carmarthen | 700,000 | Norfolk | 1,148,000 |
| Carnarvan | 370,000 | Northampton | 550,000 |
| Cheshire | 720,000 | Northumberland | 1,370,000 |
| Cornwall | 960,000 | Nottingham | 560,000 |
| Cumberland | 1,040,000 | Oxford | 534,000 |
| Denbigh | 410,000 | Pembroke | 420,000 |
| Derby | 680,000 | Radnor | 310,000 |
| Devonshire | 1,920,000 | Rutland | 110,000 |
| Dorsetshire | 772,000 | Shropshire | 890,000 |
| Durham | 610,000 | Somersetshire | 1,075,000 |
| Essex | 1,240,000 | Stafford | 810,000 |
| Flint | 160,000 | Suffolk | 995,000 |
| Glamorgan | 540,000 | Surry | 592,000 |
| Gloucester | 800,000 | Sussex | 1,140,000 |
| Hampshire | 1,162,000 | Warwickshire | 670,000 |
| Hereford | 660,000 | Westmorland | 510,000 |
| Hertford | 451,000 | Wilts | 876,000 |
| Huntingtonshire | 240,000 | Worcester | 540,000 |
| Isle of Wight | 150,500 | York | 3,770,000 |
| Kent | 1,248,000 | | |

[1] Christopher Saxton, topographical draughtsman, published in 1579 a series of maps of every county in England and Wales. This was the first survey by counties, and all the subsequent maps of the period were based upon Saxton's work (*D.N.B.*, I. 385).

Another of the same, ranged by their different contents in acres, beginning at the highest:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yorke | 3,770,000 | Cambridgshire | 570,000 |
| Devonshire | 1,920,000 | Nottingham | 560,000 |
| Lincolne | 1,740,000 | Leicestershire | 560,000 |
| Northumberland | 1,370,000 | Mongomerishire | 560,000 |
| Kent | 1,248,000 | Northamptonshire | 550,000 |
| Essex | 1,240,000 | Worcestershire | 540,000 |
| Hantshire | 1,162,000 | Glamorganshire | 540,000 |
| Lancashire | 1,150,000 | Oxfordshire | 534,000 |
| Norfolk | 1,148,000 | Berkshire | 527,000 |
| Sussex | 1,140,000 | Cardiganshire | 520,000 |
| Somersetshire | 1,075,000 | Westmorland | 510,000 |
| Cumberland | 1,040,000 | Merionethshire | 500,000 |
| Suffolk | 995,000 | Hertfordshire | 451,000 |
| Cornwal | 960,000 | Buckinghamshire | 441,000 |
| Shropshire | 890,000 | Pembrokeshire | 420,000 |
| Wiltshire | 876,000 | Denbighshire | 410,000 |
| Staffordshire | 810,000 | Carnarvanshire | 370,000 |
| Gloucester | 800,000 | Monmonshire [*sic*] | 340,000 |
| Dorsetshire | 772,000 | Radnorshire | 310,000 |
| Cheshire | 720,000 | Bedfordshire | 260,000 |
| Carmarthen | 700,000 | Middlesex | 247,000 |
| Derbishire | 680,000 | Huntingtonshire | 240,000 |
| Warwickshire | 670,000 | Anglesey | 200,000 |
| Hereford | 660,000 | Flintshire | 160,000 |
| Brecknock | 620,000 | Isle of Wight | 150,500 |
| Durham | 610,000 | Rutlandshire | 110,000 |
| Surrey | 592,000 | | |

[Mr Haughton's Computation.

Mr Haughton's computation of the number of villages and persons in each county of England and Wales, collected from the books of the Hearth-Office:

| *Counties.* | *Villages.* | *Names.* |
|---|---|---|
| Devon | 394 | 56,310 |
| Dorset | 248 | 21,944 |
| Somerset | 385 | 44,686 |
| Cornwall | 161 | 25,374 |
| Salop | 170 | 23,284 |
| Gloucester | 180 | 26,764 |
| Worcester | 152 | 20,634 |
| Hereford | 176 | 15,006 |
| Glamorgan | 151 | 9,644 |
| Monmouth | 142 | 6,490 |
| Hertford | 120 | 16,569 |
| York | 563 | 106,151 |
| Lancaster | 36 | 40,202 |
| Lincoln | 630 | 40,590 |
| Rutland | 47 | 3,263 |
| Nottingham | 168 | 17,554 |
| Chester | 68 | 24,054 |
| Darby | 106 | 21,155 |
| Stafford | 130 | 23,747 |
| Leicester | 200 | 18,702 |
| Northampton | 326 | 24,808 |
| | 4,653 [*sic*] | 586,931 |

| *Counties.* | *Villages.* | *Names.* |
|---|---|---|
| Warwick | 158 | 21,973 |
| Bucks | 185 | 18,390 |
| Hants | 248 | 26,851 |
| Wilts | 304 | 27,093 |
| Oxon | 208 | 19,007 |
| Bedford | 116 | 12,170 |
| Berks | 140 | 16,906 |
| Wales, N. and S. | 1,015 | 32,921 |
| Bristoll | .. | 5,122 |
| Kent | 395 | 39,242 |
| Sussex | 312 | 21,537 |
| Surrey | 140 | 14,273 |
| Cambridge | 193 | 17,347 |
| Essex | 415 | 34,819 |
| Huntington | 78 | 8,217 |
| Norfolk | 625 | 47,180 |
| Suffolk | 494 | 34,422 |
| Cumberland | 58 | 14,825 |
| Northumberland | 40 | 22,741 |
| Westmorland | 20 | 6,501 |
| Durham | 62 | 15,984 |
| | 5,155 | 457,521 |

| *Counties.* | *Villages.* | *Names.* |
|---|---|---|
| London | .. | 30,997 |
| Middlesex | 73 | 54,287 |
| Westminster | .. | 14,852 |
| Southwark | .. | 19,945 |
| | 73 | 120,081 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 4,653 [*sic*] | 586,931 |
| 73 | 120,081 |
| 5,155 | 457,521 |
| 9,881 [*sic*] | 1,164,533 |

## An extract of so much of the printed proposal of Cressy Dymoke to King Charles 2d. touching Agriculture,[1] as relates to his computation of the number of square measured miles in England and Wales:

England and Wales and the limits of Berwick upon Tweed is North and South about 320 miles upon the vulgar account,

[1] MS. "Agriticulture."

and generally every such mile is about a mile and a half of measured miles; and from East to West about as much; and so may reasonably be allowed and accounted to be 400 measured miles square (that is land and sea together) but by reason that the form, as to the land only, is very irregular, it may be reasonable to take off for the sea three eight parts, though that be manifestly too much.

Now where the form is regular and all land, 400 measured miles square would contain 160,000 such measured miles singly square; but cutting off three full eights, or 60,000 measured miles singly square, there remains really to be accounted of 100,000 such singly square measured miles.

One measured mile singly square contains 640 statute-acres, though there were no hills, but all a flat, in all 64,000,000 of statute-acres. I allow or account that at least the one eighth part of this (generally) is plowed and sowed every year (besides all that is laid every year fallow), that is 8,000,000 of acres.

31 [MS. i. 48]. Mr Pepys to his Kinsman Mr Smith [*Copy*].

*April* 27, 1691.

Sir,—I do most thankfully acknowledge the honour and favour of your letter of the 25th of the last, most heartily congratulating both you and my cosen your Lady in the satisfaction shee is now (I hope) within so near a view of bringing you. Sir, I do very truly participate with you in this occasion of your content; and as I should not on any terms you could have offered mee have declined the kind office you propose, so do I with double thankfulnesse own the extraordinary respect you are pleased to do it with, in the partnershipp you honour mee with in it.

Wishing therefore the happy hour well come and well over, I do with my most humble services to you both and to my honoured Cosen Pepys, remain, Sir, Your most obedient servant and obliged kinsman, S. Pepys.

32 [MS. i. 49]. Mr Smith to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*May* 2, [1691].

Sir,—The honour of yours I received the 31 of the last, and find my self obliged to returne you my humble thanks, not onely for the honour you'r pleased to do the little son itt has pleased God to give me, but for the very obliging manner your favour was expressed in. My father, mother Smith, mother Pepis, and my wife, as they claime an equal share in the obligation, so they desire the same acceptance of our[1] humble services and thanks. It would extremely adde to our satisfactions to've had the honour of your company, but the distance and shortness of time making us despayr of that happyness, I shal beg leave to provide one to stand for you, whome I designe to be Mr Sherard, a neibour and relation, and nephew to my Lord Sherard.[2] The compliance you were pleased to have for my last request gives me confidence to hope your goodness wil forgive this troble too from, Sir, Your most obedient servant and obliged kinsman, E. Smith.

33 [MS. i. 51]. Mr Pepys to Mr Smith [*Copy*].

*May* 12, 1691.

Sir,—In returne to yours of the 2d instant, I am obliged to tell you that you putt much too great a weight upon an act that imports far more honour done by it to my-selfe than can be collected of respect from it towards you; and that all the use therefore I am to make of the kind words you are pleased to bestow upon it is, to hope that the goodnesse which has ledd you to the taking in soe courteous part this little instance of a far greater respect I would be glad to pay you, will not let you spare mee where (if ever) I may be able to render you services more worthy your accepting.

[1] MS. "your."
[2] Bennet, third Baron Sherard: see also ii. 64 below.

I doe heartily joy you in what your Lady and you have been helping one another to, and God has now blessed you both with; giving you fresh thanks for the too honourable provision you have made of a proxy for mee on this occasion. The benefit of whose favour I am so far covetous of, as to anticipate the use of it by sending my present blessing to my little Godson, with no lesse satisfaction to my selfe than sincerity and solemnity of good wishes towards him, that he may long live an ornament to his Father's name, as he is already to his Mother's. To the chiefes of which on both sides now with you, I return my most humble services and particular congratulations in their glad concernment in this affair, remaineing, Dear Sir, Your most obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

34 [MS. i. 52]. Mr Pepys to Sir Robert Howard [1] [*Copy*].[2]

*York-Buildings, July* 1, 1691.

Sir,—My late freedom from publick has given me opportunity of looking a little into my private affairs. And therein it has been my hap to meet with a paper I have long been at a loss for. I mean, the note you were pleased to give me for the 400*l.* which at your desire I accommodated you with in the year 1676, upon an occasion of your going to New-Market, and of which you soon after repaid me by the hand of Mr Hewer 200 guineas, as appears by his entry thereof upon the said note.

I have chosen to make use of the same hand to attend you herewith; assuring you that having now nothing coming-in of what I then had, your present ordering me the remainder will be a great pleasure to, Your old humble and most faithfull servant,

S. Pepys.

[1] On Sir Robert Howard, the dramatist, see *D.N.B.*, xxviii. 59.
[2] In the hand of Pepys's nephew, John Jackson.

35 [MS. i. 53]. A Copy of a Codicil of Mr Boyle's[1] Will [*From Mr Evelyn's Copy*].

[*Signed July* 28, 1691.]

Whereas I have an intention to settle in my life-time the sum of Fifty pounds per annum for ever or at least for a considerable number of years to be for an annual salary for some Learned Divine or Preaching Minister from time to time to be elected, and resident within the City of London or circuit of the Bills of Mortality, who shall bee enjoyned to performe the offices following, viz.—First, to preach eight Sermons in the year for proving the Christian Religion against notorious Infidels, viz. Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans, not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves. These Lectures to be on the first Monday of the respective months of January, February, March, April, May, September, October, November, in such Church as my Trustees herein named shall from time to time appoint. Secondly, to be assisting to all Companies and encouraging of them in any undertakings for propagating the Christian Religion to foreign parts. Thirdly, to be ready to satisfye such real scruples as any may have concerning those matters, and to answer such new objections or difficultys as may be started, to which good answers have not yet been made. And whereas I have not yet met with a convenient purchase of Lands of Inheritance for accomplishing such my intention, I doe therefore will and ordaine (in case it shall please God to take me hence before such settlement be made) that all that my Messuage or Dwelling-House in St Michael's Crooked Lane London which I hold by Lease for a certain number of years yet to come, shall stand and be charged during the remainder of such terme as shall be to come and expire at the time of my decease with the payment of the clear yearly Rents and Profits that shall from time to time be made thereof (Ground-Rent, Taxes, and necessary Reparations

[1] On Robert Boyle, natural philosopher and chemist, son of the first Earl of Cork, see *D.N.B.*, vi. 118. He died December 30, 1691.

being first to be deducted) to be payd to such Learned Divine or Preaching Minister for the time being by quarterly payments, that is to say, at Midsummer, Michaelmas, Christmas, and Lady-day. The first payment to begin at such of the said Feasts as shall first happen next after my decease, and shall be made to such Learned Divine or Preaching Minister as shall be in that employment at the time of my death during his continuance therein. And I will that after my death Sir John Rotherham, Serjeant at Law,[1] Sir Henry Ashurst of London, Knight and Baronet,[2] Thomas Tennison, Doctor in Divinity,[3] and John Evelyn Senr., Esqre,[4] and the survivors or survivor of them and such person or persons as the survivor of them shall appoint to succeed in the following Trust shall have the election and nomination of such Lecturer; And alsoe shall and may constitute and appoint him for any terme not exceeding three years; and at the end of such terme shall make a new election and appointment of the same or any other Minister of the Gospel residing within the City of London or extent of the Bills of Mortality at their discretions. And I doe hereby will and ordain this my Codicil to be a part of my Last Will and Testament. Witness my Hand and Seale this 28th day of July in the Year of Our Lord 1691.

Ro. Boyle

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the Honourable Robert Boyle to be a Codicil to and part of his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us,

Isaac Garnier. Willm. Johnson.
Ro. St Clair. James Oglebey.

[1] A Baron of the Exchequer.

[2] Sir Henry Ashhurst of Waterstock in Oxfordshire, one of Boyle's most intimate friends.

[3] Thomas Tenison, Archdeacon of London. He was appointed Bishop of Lincoln at the end of 1691, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1694.

[4] Evelyn refers to his trusteeship in his *Diary* (January 13, 1691–2). The first lecturer appointed under the trust was the famous scholar Richard Bentley.

36 [MS. i. 54]. The Bishop of London[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*], with the Latter's Reply [*Copy*].[2]

*December* 15, [1691].

Sir,—When I tell you I write in behalf of an eminently honest man, I hope you will pardon more easily my importunity. The bearer, Mr Nutt, though I have very little or no acquaintance with him, is one that I highly value for two actions of his life very unusuall in this age. When upon the credit he had given the King, Charles the 2d, he found himself sinking from an estate of ten or twelve thousand pounds to nothing, he returned back to the value of 3000*l.* of money just then put into his hands, telling his creditours that he was no longer responsible. His other action was more generous than this. For being called to witness the title of a gentleman who has not wherewithall to reward him, and being himself not worth a groat, he refused to keep back his evidence, though he was offered a very considerable reward by the other party which would have supported him all his life. Upon these merits it is that I would beg of you to use your interest with Mr Southerne[3] to bestow some clark's or other place under the Admiralty upon him, to get him bread. If it were for my brother I could not with more concerne intreat you in this particular to oblige, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

H. London.

*York-Buildings, December* 18, 1691.

My Lord,—I have received your Lordshipp's commands with the deference due thereto, and shall gladly endeavour to execute them with efficacy to the benefit of the honest gentleman (my old kind acquaintance) whom your Lordshipp is on so honourable inducements pleased to favour, in case you shall continue to require it of mee after I have, in duty to your selfe as well as faithfullnesse to him, observed to your

[1] Henry Compton.

[2] This letter is printed, but without the exact date, in Braybrooke, iv. 251.

[3] James Sotherne had originally been one of Pepys's clerks; he had been Clerk of the Acts and was now Secretary of the Admiralty.

Lordshipp: That however unnatural it may seem to your Lordshipp, as it does to all who know it, I have been so far from meeting with any marks of Mr Southern's remembring himselfe to have been my servant, and by mee (and mee alone) raised to the condition of a Master in the Navy that, on the contrary, if there bee one man in it that has under this Revolution shewn mee not only most neglect but most despight on all occasions wherein my name has been made use of, it is hee. So that I cannot think it any thing lesse than a betraying of this good man's suite for mee to pretend to any capacity of furthering it with Mr Southerne.

If neverthelesse from any special inducement (not appearing to mee) Mr Nutt shall thinke my mediation may bee of any moment to him in this case, I both will and ought to make it my businesse to render it soe. And this not only for the sake of your Lordship's commands (though they were alone sufficient) but from arguments alsoe within my own cognisance as an Officer of the Navy, privy more than most to what this honest gentleman and his family might challenge of favour from the Crowne for the credit he has heretofore given it as a merchant, when the Navy most needed and could least find it from other hands.

This (my Lord) I begg your receiving as the only honest returne I (to my great trouble) find my selfe in present condition of giveing in this case till I shall bee further directed concerning it by your Lordshipp; being with all possible sincerity of respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most dutifull and most obedient servant, S. Pepys.

37 [MS. i. 55]. Mr Pepys to Mr Evelyn [*Copy*].[1]

*Saturday morning, January* 9, 1691–2.

Sir,—I would have come at you the other night at St Martin's on that grievous occasion,[2] but could not. Nor

[1] Printed in Braybrooke, iv. 251.

[2] The funeral of Mr Boyle at St Martin's-in-the-Fields, Westminster, on January 7.

would I have failed in attending you before, to have condoled the losse of that great man, had I for some time beene in a condition of going abroad. Pray lett Dr Gale, Mr Newton, and my selfe have the favour of your company to day, forasmuch as (Mr Boyle being gone) wee shall want your helpe in thinking of a man in England fitt to bee sett up after him for our Peireskius,[1] besides Mr Evelin. I am sure I know what I think on't, and shan't spare to tell it you. A happy New Year to you from, Your most faithfull and most obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

38 [MS. i. 56]. Mr Pepys to Sir Peter Pett[2] [*Copy*].

*January* 25, 1691–2. *Monday morning.*

Sir,—I restore you most thankfully your 2 last loans, both (in their kinds) very extraordinary, giveing mee so much pleasure in their reading that (if to bee found) I won't long want them of my owne. But I have in a particular manner dwelt upon what you referred mee to in Dr Wood,[3] in reference to my enquiry about the par of our ancient and moderne coine, both as to its intrinsick value and value for use. Touching the former of which, I readily agree with him that it is as 3 to 1. Nor know I any reason to disagree in his other estimate, by which hee makes the charge of our living at this day (for the generality of what serves to our accommodation therein) to amount to another 10 to 1 more. Soe that in a word, hee would have 20*s.* in King Edward the 3d's time to answer the whole use of 30*l.* now. But what his measures are by which hee raises his latter calculation of 10 to 1 for use, in addition to his former of 3 to 1 for difference in intrinsick value, I would bee glad to receive some light; and know not whither better to repayre for it than to your selfe, whose knowledge of the author would hardly (I fancy) suffer you

[1] Nicholas Peiresc of Aix, the distinguished French savant; he was a friend of Rubens the painter.

[2] On Sir Peter Pett, the lawyer and author, see *D.N.B.*, xlv. 104.

[3] Probably Dr Robert Wood, who had been mathematical master at Christ's Hospital. He died in 1685.

to bee a stranger to his notions, besides what you have to furnish out upon that and every other subject of your owne. I am, Your dayly vexer, but humble servant, S. Pepys.

This weeke will have an end, and by that time you know what I am to hope for from you in our Admiralty cause.

39 [MS. i. 57]. Sir Henry Shere[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*], with the Latter's Reply [*Copy*].

*January* 28, [1691–2].

Most deare Sir,—I take for granted you expect rather to hear of a legacy than a letter from one who if alive could not be so long without letting you know it. For my appologis I am to let you know I have bin very ill of a feaver, whereof I thank God I am now well recovered, though not so as to boast of strength to adventure abroad this weather. And to attone my silence, I herewith send you a barne door turky with eggs and a chine of bacon, which epicures call a Bocado de Cardinal. I pray God keep you and send you happier New Yeares than we have seen, and grant you in every thing your wish, which is that of, Your most humble servant,

H. Shere.

*January* 29, 1691–2.

Sir Harry Shere,—I was not indeed aware of the ground on't (for who would suspect a Beau's being sick) but I have missed seeing you or your hand a great while, a welcome visiter being become a great dainty, at least to mee. For which reason (among others) pray study the weather, and keep your selfe well, now you are in the way once more of being soe. I shall pray for your poultry too, and your swinetry, that when all other doores are shutt upon us wee may not want a Barne-door and Pig-sty of our owne to resort to.

[1] Sir Henry Shere (or Sheeres), the military engineer formerly employed at Tangier, was one of Pepys's friends to whom a mourning ring was bequeathed at his death. He is several times mentioned in the *Diary*.

Though the world (God bee thanked) furnishes matter enough for it, yet at this distance conversation can't bee much the better for't; and therefore laying it up for a milder season, I bidd you God b'w'y, and am with the most solemne wishes of all good to you, Your faithfull and affectionate humble servant, S. Pepys.

40 [MS. i. 58]. Mr Pepys to Sir Peter Palavicini[1] [*Copy*].

*Tuesday-Noon, February* 9, 1691–2.

Dear Sir,—It is but this moment that I come to hear of a seisure made yesterday of some gentlemen in the City, without any intimation of the ground of it, more than what is to bee apprehended from their being said to bee all French merchants. Upon which, though I have not heard of the names of any, and very well know your constant care of keeping your selfe unconcerned in any publick matters, yet I cannot but bee jealous in behalfe of my friends, and knowing (from my own chargeable experience) how hard it is for any degree of innocence to secure a man against trouble, I could not rest till I sent to know how you doe (my legg continuing still out of order this ill weather), and to begg you not to spare mee and all I have in the world (for I owe you more) in any occasion wherein I or it may bee of any service to you. Nor shall the weather hinder my attending you the first moment you shall please to call mee. For I am, Your most bounden and most faithfull humble servant, S. Pepys.

41 [MS. i. 59]. Mr Pepys to Sir Richard Raines[2] [*Copy*].

*York-Buildings, February* 17, 1691–2.

Sir,—The bearer, Mr Gibson,[3] is one whose many years' relation to mee (while in publick employment) has given mee

[1] Sir Peter Palavicini had been one of Pepys's sureties when he was liberated from the Gatehouse on bail in 1690 (see p. 36 above).

[2] A judge of the Court of Admiralty.

[3] Probably the Richard Gibson, a clerk in the Navy Office, who is frequently referred to in the *Diary*.

great opportunity of knowing him, and by it I am enabled with greater confidence to give him the character due to him, which is, of a person of an approved sobriety and probity. Which testimony I have therefore at his desire thought my selfe obliged to give you of him, in order to the just use it may bee of to him in reference to a cause hee tells mee hee has now depending before you, and in which for the same reason I cannot but with all respect recommend him to your reasonable favour.

Nor have I the lesse willingly gratifyed him herein, from the opportunity it at the same time gives mee of kissing your hands, and assureing you that under all events, past and to come, I doe and shall always retaine a most serious esteeme of your eminent vertues and learning, and am with greatest sincerity, Sir, Your most humble and most affectionate servant,

S. Pepys.

42 [MS. i. 60]. Mr St Michel[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*March* 20, 1691–2.

Most Ever Honoured Sir,—Ever since the knoledge of your generous goodness, favour, kindeness, and charity, signified to me by Mr Boudler, it hath pleased God soe to have afflicted me with such sickness and tormenting paines all over my body, with the adition of the yallow-jandis and other distempers (which the wants and hardshipps my late misfortune hath occasioned my groning under), as but two days agoe it was thought I should never more have seene light in this world; but this being the first day (since my foresaid terible illness) that I have bine able to hold upp my head and penn, I could nor woold not lett slipp the oportunity which (by this littell respite I have) God hath bine pleased to afforde me, that soe I might with trew gratitude give your Honour my most dutifull and humble thanks for the same, which I

[1] Balthazar St Michel, Pepys's brother-in-law. Pepys endorses the communication, "An acknowledging and begging letter." At the time of the Revolution, St Michel was Commissioner of the Navy at Deptford and Woolwich, but he had fallen on evil days.

doe from the very bottom of my hart and soule; and assuring your Honour that though (to my last breath) I will ever owne to have had the best part of my life, suport, and bread by your only favour and goodness, yett this late generous act of yours hath (to me-wards) out done all the former, for that at this pinch, in this my latter age, and groneing under such circomstances of afflictions and miserys of boddy and minde which none but the Great Divinity and my selfe knows, (and indeed such as I am sure hath noe paralell), you ware pleased to releave me; for which as I againe returne your Honour my everlasting dutifull thanks, soe shall allsoe my dayly prayers be ever to the Heavenly God, not only to repay you 1000-fold but allsoe that His Divine Majesty would ever keepe your dear body and soule to everlasting life and glory. I am, Your Honour's poore, afflicted, but most faithfull, humble, and dutifull servant, B. St Michel.

If you have an old spare cast-off morning gowne, peruiques, and some like cast-off large cloake-coate, which things you could spare without the least inconveniency to you, if you woold spare them to your afflicted servant they woold be very welcome and with milions of thanks; and to have a bundle made upp and by a porter to have it privately left for me at Trinity House, Watter Lane, at Mr Hunter's.

43 [MS. i. 61]. Mr Pepys to Mr Evelyn [*Copy*].[1]

*Easter-Monday*, [*March* 28], 1692.

Sir,—The last being Confession, this in all good conscience ought to be Restitution-Week; and (as far as I am able) the first act of it with me shall be the acquitting myself honestly towards you in reference to that treasure of papers which I have had of yours so many years in my hands, in hopes of that *otium* I have now for 3 years been maister of, but on conditions (easy to be guessed at) which have not allowed

[1] The letter printed in Braybrooke, iv. 252, which purports to be this one, is only a condensed version of it; and the last three paragraphs are omitted altogether.

me the company of more of my papers than I was content to adventure being visited and disordered. From whence it has happened that it is not above 3 weeks that in all this time I have taken the liberty of remanding any of them within my reach. But out of these I have, I hope, made shift to collect all that relate to the 2 heads which I have ever been most thoughtful of with respect to you, namely, those of State-concernment in the ministry of Sir Richard Browne,[1] and those of your own growth towards the history of our Dutch War, 1665.[2] Which, with that which followed it in 1672, I wish to God I could live to see put together by your hand, as greatly suspecting they will prove the last instances of the sea-actions of this nation which will either bear telling at all or be found worthy such an historian as Mr Evelyn to tell. Of which more when we meet; praying you in the mean time not to deny me the aid of your memory touching what further parcels I stand accountable to you for, that I may not only lay them by, as they occur to me, but be the better directed to look out for such as may not otherwise so readily occur.

Another piece of restitution I have alsoe to make you, but with some paine for the imperfection wherewith I must doe it, after several years laying-out for means of doing it better. It is your *Columna Trajani*,[3] which out of a desire of making the most use I could of with greatest ease to my eyes, I took the liberty of putting it out (but unfortunately) to an unskilful hand for the washing its prints with some thin staine, in order only to the abateing a little the too strong lustre of the paper. In the execution whereof the former part of it has suffered such injury that, not knowing with what countenance to return it you so, I determined upon making you amends by the first fair book I could meet withall; putting this into my own livery, as what I could well enough content myself with for my private use. But with so ill success, that notwithstanding all my industry, both at auctions and other-

[1] Sir Richard Browne the diplomatist, Evelyn's father-in-law.
[2] See note 5 on p. 14 above.
[3] See p. 17 above.

wise, to furnish myself with a fair one for you, I have not been able to this day to lay my eye upon, either fair or foul, saving one that I have very lately met with at Scott's,[1] greatly imperfect, as wholly wanting the historical explications referred to through the whole by figures from the plates. Sir Peter Lilly [2] (whose book it was) contenting himself with so much of it, and no more, as touched the profession of a painter without that of a schollar. Being thus therefore taught how great a jewel your book (even with this damage) is, I thought it more religious to restore it you now as it is than leave you to expect it in the same pickle 7 years hence from God knows who; resting in the mean time upon your good nature in accepting so ill a method of payment of a debt that for my life I know not how to discharge better.

But there is yet another which I have been slower in the clearing also than (could I have governed the workman) I ought to have been, namely, my promise to you of a map of Caxton's and a sphere after Copernicus. Both which trifles come herewith, and to shew you how little cost I am at for you in them, know that the sphere is the very same you have often seen here. The characters of whose planets for distinguishing the orbs being become of late less fit for my eyes, I have taken the opportunity of accommodating myself with another of a more legible size and put you off with this.

I would at this time also restore your admirable magazine of *taille-douces*; but I have yet some gleanings to come in which I would be glad to see the most of, and have your assistance in the disposing of the whole before I part with my sample, if you can spare it a little longer.

And thus finishing my mint and cummin-scores, but leaving those of the most and most lasting consideration to be payd when they can be fully valued, which is never to be done by me, I am very seasonably stinted of room to say more but

ADIEU.

[1] Robert Scott of Little Britain, a famous bookseller with whom Pepys had many dealings.

[2] Sir Peter Lely the portrait painter.

44 [MS. i. 62]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*Wotton, August* 29, 1692.

I have ben philosophising and world-despising in the solitudes of this place, whither I am retired to passe, and mourne the absence of my best and worthyest friend. Here is wood and water, meadows and mountaines, the Dryads and Hamadryads; but here's no Mr Pepys, no Dr. Gale.[2] Nothing of all the cheere in the parlor that I tast; all's insipid, and all will be so to me 'til I see and injoy you againe.

I long to know what you do and what you think, because I am certaine you do both what is worthy the knowing and imitation. On Monday next will Mr Bently resume his lecture (I think) at Bow-Church;[3] I feare I shall hardly get through this wildernes by that time; pray give him your wonted countenance if you can, and tell him how unhappily I am intangled. I hope however to get home within this fortnight, and about the end of October, to my *hyemation* in Dover Streete. My son is gon with the Lord Lieutenant and our new relation *Sir Cyrill* into Ireland.[4] I looke they should returne wondrous states-men, or else they had as good have stayed at home.

I am here with *Boccalini*,[5] and *Erasmus's Prayse of Follie*, and looke down upon the world with wondrous contempt when I consider for what we keepe such a mighty bustle. *O Fortunate Mr Pepys!* who knows, possesses, and injoyes all that's worth the seeking after. Let me live among your inclinations and I shall be happy. J. Evelyn.

There are none of my littlc family here by my selfe.

[1] Printed, but rather carelessly, in Braybrooke, iv. 254.

[2] Dr Thomas Gale, High Master of St Paul's School, afterwards Dean of York.

[3] See note on p. 49 above.

[4] On May 15 Evelyn's niece Mary, the daughter of his elder brother George, had married Sir Cyril Wyche, the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. John Evelyn the younger had just been appointed a Commissioner of Revenue for Ireland, and on August 11 he had gone to live there with his wife and child (Evelyn's *Diary*).

[5] Trajan Boccalini (1556–1613), an Italian satirical writer, who published works that have often been reprinted.

45 [MS. i. 63]. Mr Pepys to Dr Gale[1] [*Copy*].

*Thursday Morning, September* 15, 1692.

Dear Sir,—I have paid otherwise so dear for it that I will trust my friends as to any further chastisement for a fault that I was never guilty of but once before, and that was when I with as little manners left them for 6 months upon an excursion to Spain as now I have done (they know as little whither) for near 3, without either asking or taking leave. But there are some things that won't bear ceremony, and must be done as that and this was or not at all; namely, where the extravagance of the doing is obvious to every body but the expediency to none but one's selfe. This ledd mee about that time agoe to dive all at once under water, no body knew whither (but into the country), without ever appearing above it, till now that I would bee glad to doe it and cannot. The secret is this. I have (as you know) been every year for now 3 or 4, subject to such a sort of surprizes and disquietings from powers above mee, without any prospect of ever being less soe, that, upon the last trial I had of them, I resolved (when ever that was over) to putt myselfe into a condition of meeting them with less uneasiness by ridding my selfe quite through of all that might on like occasions give mee any anxietys, and above all in relation to my papers that I have so many years been tumultuously gathering and laying by, without a vacancy of hand or head ever to garble, sort, or putt into order for use either to myselfe or any that come after mee; though I have severall times since my recess from business attempted it, but with a plain conviction that nothing but a direct sequestring myselfe from all the world for a while would doe it. And this I resolved to delay no longer, but at the charge of 30*l.* for the colour only of a country-house, have shutt my selfe up entirely here at home (even to the surmounting all considerations of good nature or good manners towards either friends or myselfe) to this day, that I have gained so much of my satisfaction aimed at as to have no more left to doe than what by the grace of God I can now

[1] See note on p. 59 above.

hope to compasse with some reguard to both; I mean, first to my friends, and at the head of them to your selfe, whose kind enquirys after mee and endeavours of visitts, as well as my best Mrs Stewart's,[1] I doe with a great deal of reason bestow my first reflections upon and pay my earliest thankes for; which I begg you to accept by this, and to do mee the good office allsoe of communicating them to her, that you may together sitt upon mee and the extravagancy of this proceeding of mine before I am exposed to either of your reproachings singly; for I must owne I have used you (as shee calls it) very indiscreetly, *i.e.* soe as I ought and do take shame to myselfe for.

And now as to this selfe of mine, I have indeed been soundly punished for it; my constant poreing, and sitting so long still in one posture, without any divertings or exercize, haveing for about a month past brought a humour down into one of my leggs, not only to the swelling it to allmost the size of both, but with the giving mee mighty pains, and disabling mee to this day to putt on a shooe on that foot. Not but that since I allowed my selfe freedom to take some physicke (which I have done twice this week) the pain is in a great part gone and the swelling abated, but not soe as to have yet suffered mee to stepp a stepp from the beginning of it but from my chamber to my study upon the same floore; Nor doubt it will before Saturday next, when I will (if God please) endeavour to meet you in my little parlour at a dish of tripes, if my ill usage of you will permitt it on your side. Against which time I have (from a letter of his,[2] which I have not answered neither [3]) some hopes Mr Evelyn, who knows not yet where I am but gives you his wonted kind remembrances, may bee in the way of wayting on you too.

Having thus shewn my selfe impudently to you, one would think I might not need any mediatour to any body else. But indeed Mrs Steward is so bitter a gentlewoman and bowelless, that I know the first word she saith will bee the wishing my right legg as bad as my left for using her as I have done, and

[1] See p. 62 below.
[2] P. 59 above.
[3] For the answer see p. 62.

I know not how to blame her. Therefore pray assayle her first on my behalfe, and stroak her violence (if you can) till you have gott her to name a time when you will together come and eat a dish of atonement with mee. For I am now in a state of longing again, and the first fitt of it is to see her, and to see her with you, that I may doe it safely.

After this, give mee leave to enquire after your health and your whole family's, and to continue to profess my selfe, Your most humble and most faithfull affectionate servant,

S. Pepys.

I am the more in want of an advocate with Mrs Stewart for your country woman Mrs Lee's being gone into the north.[1]

46 [MS. i. 62]. Mr Pepys to Mr Evelyn [*Copy*].

*September* 16, 1692.

Dear Sir,—I mind your doctrine about despising the world, but at the same time am out of countenance for your so soon forgetting it, in the fondness of your phrase towards soe abject a clodd of it as that which you are preaching it to. And yet as abject as I know that living clodd to bee, I could even referr you to that (since you are setting up for such a world-contemner) to take out a new and higher lesson from upon the same subject. For such I take to bee (and doubt not your allowance to't) the shutting my selfe up within this lushious towne a whole summer long, with a clean Bartl'mew-Fair [2] in it, and a country-house lying upon my hand at 30*l.* charge within 4 mile of the town, and but a bow-shott off of my friend James Houblon,[3] and yet covering my not being to bee found here even by the excellent Dr Gale or Madam Excellence herselfe, Mrs Stewart,[4] under the disguise of being retired thither; and this pursued, to what you of all the

[1] This postscript is in Pepys's own hand.

[2] See the references to Bartholomew Fair in Pepys's *Diary*.

[3] On Mr, afterwards Sir James, Houblon, see *D.N.B.*, xxvii. 417, and Lady Alice Archer Houblon, *The Houblon Family*, two vols., 1907.

[4] See p. 61 above.

liveing would last believe, namely, to the not so much as enquiring after the most desirable and to mee the most indulgent Mr Evelyn, for fear of being discovered too near him; without eating one morsell (or but one) in that savoury place of your own making soe, since I had the pleasure of doing it with my beloved *Duum-viri*; and lastly, to the abstaining so long from air and exercize as to contract upon myselfe an evill (by the falling of humours into one of my leggs) that has kept mee to one floore, without being able to draw on a shooe, from a month since to this day. This (I say) I take to bee another-gates proof of a Noe-Worldling than a man's being alone where he would grudge any body's being but himselfe; I mean, among meadows, woods, and water, Dryads and Hamadryads. And yet this have I gone through, as unaccountable as I have described it to you, and all for the sake of a small piece of worke that lay upon my hands which I had noe mind longer to trust futurity with, and less than such a sequestration as this I (after many attempts) had convinced myselfe would not suffice for.

But it is over, and my legg (I bless God) soe amended as I hope to-morrow to begin my march downe stayres, where I have obtained Dr Gale's [1] promise to meet mee, as I would not despair of doing yours, were you within reach. Which I shall now long to have; as hee also will, and both of us joyne in the wish of, with the first glass wee lift.

What I have told you of my lameness as well as confinement will enough tell you that I have not been in the way of obeying you or gratifying myselfe about Mr Bentley. But as it is the first, I trust it will bee the last of my failures of that kind.

Hasten then to towne, where wee have a whole summer's cropp of intelligence to gather, and seed to putt in the ground for another; but want the aid of your weather-wisdome towards judging what will come on't. Hasten then to towne, and receive the longing wellcome of, Your most affectionate servant and honourer, S. Pepys.

[1] See note on p. 59 above.

47 [MS. i. 64]. Mr King[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[2]

*Dresden, Teusday February 7*, 1692–3.

Honoured Sir,—I should not forgive my self if I did not pay you the respect of a line or two, even at this distance. The Gazette by this time will inform you of the ceremonie of investing his Electoral Highness of Saxonie, John-George the 4th, with the Order of the Garter in the Great Hall here (which is called *Atrium Gigantum*) on Thursday 26 Jan., 1692[–3], old stile. To which I will only add that the Elector is highly pleased with the Order, which he has not only testifyed by the noble presents he has made to the Commissioners and to all their retinue, but by the perfect good humour which he has shewed ever since, and by his bestowing upon Sir William Colt[3] my colleague the Badge of Sincerity, (a kind of Order established by the two Electors of Brandenburg and Saxonie a year or two ago), which he took from his own arm and putt upon Sir William's, being worn in nature of a bracelet. It is an enamelled jewell of an oval form, about an inch long, whereon is enamelled 2 hands in hand, in armour, with this motto, *Uni à jamais*, and on the back side this motto, *Amitie Sincere*. "The first motto" (said the Elector upon giving it to Sir William) "is for the King and my self, the next is for you and I." I will give you a draught of it at my return; the ornament is only 4 diamonds on the outside. The day after the ceremonie was a famous tilting, 30 on a side, all gentlemen of 8 descents, and the day after that were most noble fireworks. The next day, being Sunday the 29th, we had Audience of Leave; and Sir William Colt presently after delivered new credentials as Envoy. We din[e]d with the Elector that day, and he told me he would give me my passport for England, which he did, but it lay in my head for 2 days after. The next day we were carried to see the strong

[1] On Gregory King, the herald and genealogist, see *D.N.B.*, xxxi. 131.

[2] This letter is printed, but rather inaccurately, in Braybrooke, iv. 253; and part of it also in Smith, ii. 255, but here what professes to be quotation is only an abbreviated version. It is dated by the Old Style, as the New Style was not adopted in the Protestant States of Germany until 1700.

[3] William Dutton Colt, knighted 1684.

fortress of Konigstein, about 16 or 18 English miles from hence, upon the frontiers of Bohemia, and returnd the next day and din[e]d at the Elector's charge, as we did from the time of our first Audience, being attended by several gentlemen and the Elector's pages and footmen. Since which we are upon our account. Yesterday we were shewed the Sike House[1] or Arsenall, the Roust Camer[2] or Armory, where there are 36 chambers for that purpose, and then the Konst Camerr,[3] or 7 chambers of rarities, all highly worth seeing, besides the Stables. On Thursday next is a masquerade in boors' habit, 30 ladies and gentlemen, and among them the Elector and Electrice, and on Friday a magnificent opera, all in honour of the Order; after which I return with all dilligence for England by the way of Hamburgh, and shall long to kiss your hands and to assure you how truly I am, Your most obedient servant,

GREGORY KING.

Quoniam hujusmodi chronogrammata (ut dicam) hisce regionibus in usu sunt (quamvis non operis pretium existimo) facultatem tamen meam explorare visum est:

1692. Ioannes Georg IVs qVartVs ELeCtor saXonIæ orDIne garterI DresDæ InVestItVs

1692. per nobILes VIros GVL: DVtton CoLt EqV: aVr: et Greg: kIng FeCIaL: LanCastr. angLIæ RegIs, Vt et RegInæ, Legatos et DepVtatos.

1692. DIe IoVIs VICesIMo seXto IanVarII, VeterI styLo, In AtrIo GIgant.

GR. KING.

48 [MS. i. 65]. SIR HENRY SHERE[4] TO MR PEPYS[ *Holograph*].

*Hawley*,[5] *March* 30, [1693].

MOST DEARE SIR,—The cheifest errand of this is to inquire after your health, wherein none with more justice can be so anxiously solicitous. The motions of great armies and

[1] *Zeughaus.* [2] *Rustkammer.* [3] *Kunstkammer.*
[4] See note on p. 53 above. [5] Eight miles N.E. of Farnham.

expugnation of townes and provinces are the petty concernes of Princes, but to me who have greater possessions in your friendship they are lighter than vanity, and the Great King of France has not more thoughtfulness about his success against so many confederate foes than I have how you may hold out against the stone and the scurvy. I herewith send you a present of Hawley manufacture[1] which is cured after the Spanish manner, but to be very good must be very well boyled. Be pleased to send me by the bearer the hen canary-bird, and I will endeavour to provide her chere entier.[2] I am, with perfect devotion, Your most humble faithfull servant,

H. Shere.

49 [MS. i. 66]. Mr Edward Southwell[3] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*May* 16, 1693.

Sir,—I am afraid your young Cecill[4] may dissapoint you, as many other of your old friends have done, unless you help to build him up by some of those excellent materialls which you have in plenty and at your command.

My Father bid mee tell you that Dr Hook's[5] scheme about navall matters was presented you towards the end of your being President.[6] And it was writt with some emulation to Sir William Petty's discourse called a Treatise of Navall Philosophy in 3 Parts.[7] And you will see in the Transaction now sent you a small sketch of what Sir William did, and at my Father's persuasion, in 1685.[8] And they are such heads as seem well worthy to be enlarged upon by the sons of that

[1] A gammon of bacon.

[2] Probably for the French, *chère entière*.

[3] On Edward Southwell, who had just been appointed a clerk to the Privy Council at the age of 22, and on his father, Sir Robert Southwell the diplomatist, see *D.N.B.*, liii. 299, 302.

[4] Probably a reference to some playful suggestion by Pepys that his correspondent was a budding Lord Burghley.

[5] On Robert Hooke, the distinguished natural philosopher, see *D.N.B.*, xxvii. 283.

[6] Of the Royal Society.

[7] Published in 1691.

[8] *What a complete Treatise of Navigation should contain*; drawn up in 1685 and published in 1693.

science. For as we are grown into a greater rate of building, it were but sutable that men grew also taller in their skill. But for Dr Hook's paper, if the hints aforesaid cannot discover it, you shall bee assisted with farther information from him who takes it for great honour to be esteemed, Sir, Your most humble servant, . EDWARD SOUTHWELL.

50 [MS. i. 67]. MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Says-Court, July* 6, 1693.

I should never forgive my selfe did I not as often remember you as I do any friend I value in the world. Every day is Saterday with me as to that, whether in towne or country. This I should have told you 'ere now at York buildings, had not my son *Draper*,[1] his wife, and mother ben with us, 'til yesterday evening that they returned to London. Indeede sooner than I wished, for they are the most obliging, worthy, usefull, and ingeniously disposed conversation I could ever have desired to place my daughter among I think in England. I assure you, both the mother and son are perfect *virtuosi*, and know, and (which is more) effect, a world of ingenious things without vanity, which you would be extremely pleased with. I confesse I cannot but admire at the encounter, and pronouncing my daughter very happy upon all accounts, cannot but make so good a friend part of my contentment.

Nor is my son in Ireland [2] lesse unmindfull of you than his father :—

*Dublin, June* 27, [16]93.

" Be pleased to acquaint Mr Pepys that the gentleman's estate lies in Munster, and not in the north ; that it is considerable, but cost him a great deale of mony at law before he could be quietly possessd. He is (by all I can learn) esteemed to be at his ease ; has onely one daughter ; and is now one of the Commissioners of Inspection into Forfeitures

[1] Evelyn's third daughter, Susanna, had been married to William Draper of Addiscombe, Surrey, on April 27 (*Diary*).

[2] See note on p. 59 above.

at 400*l.* per annum salarie.[1] Mr Pepys's kind thoughts of me are a superaboundant recompence for all the poore services I can do him." He adds this news :—

"We are now by the late arival of 5 men of war in this harbour (viz., the *St Albans*, *Dover*, *Saphir*, etc.) delivered from our feare of the French corsaires, who had almost circumnavigated our island, to the damage of trade and disgrace of our victorious navy. Some of these frigats are to convey my Lord Lieutenant [2] on Monday next; one to go northwards in quest of the privateers; I believe another to Cork to escort 400 tun of crooked timber, the first fruite of Mr Nash and Knox pourveyance of it in this kingdom, which may be much improved if these two industrious men be encouraged and convoys ready to waite on what they provide. Our Parliament was yesterday dissolved in Council, and proclamations expected to come out to day. Every-body complements my Lord Lieutenant before he leaves us; and I shall have the honor of his company at dinner on Friday next at my house, and it is the least acceknowledgment I can make his Lordship for his constant favour to me, wherefore I embrace it with much satisfaction. It is not yet published whom he will leave the Sword with 'til my Lord Capel and the rest arive, though 'tis likely either Mr Roberts or my Lord Chancellor will be joyned with Sir Cyril Wych,[3] who is so very kind and friendly to me that, were he not a man of perfect integrity, I might set up for Nepotissimo. I have 50 foote square behind my house and stables to practise your hortular instructions on, as far as may serve a nose-gay and a still."

Thus far my son's intelligence, and what I would have you to know more from me is, that I have yet as good beanes and bacon, and (though but one cow) as good creame as ever one

[1] The reference on the endorsement of this letter to "Mrs Skynner's affair in Ireland" suggests that this was a prospective suitor. On this lady, who was keeping house for Pepys in York Buildings, see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys*, p. 274.

[2] Henry, Viscount Sydney, afterwards Earl of Romney.

[3] In Sydney's absence in 1693, Henry, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr William Duncombe were appointed Lords Justices. The Lord Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, was also appointed, but he held office for less than a month.

would wish to entertaine Mr Pepys and the Doctor[1] with if they durst shoote the Bridge,[2] and give a poor friend a visite once a yeare.

51 [MS. i. 68]. Sir James Houblon[3] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

[*July* 17, 1693.]

Sir,—I could not forbeare to give you the welcome news that our Turkie ships (all except two) are safe, and those the most inconsiderable of them, viz., the *Mary* and the *Joseph*, and they both burnt themselves. 4 are in Gibraltar and the rest coming with Rooke[4] for Irland; and most of the considerable other merchant ships, English and Dutch, that are not with Rooke are in Cadix, of whose names wee have a printed list from thence and a written one of the said 4 in Gibraltar. Heere is an inexpressible joy after all our cares. All my concernes, I blesse God, are heard of.

The French at Lagos, finding that 5 of our men of warr atackt the like number of theirs, concluded when they saw Rooke with 120 greate ship[s] that our whole Royal fleete was there, and were in a greate consternation and burnt severall ships of their owne on the careene in that Bay, and among the rest a rich merchant man. This amasement of theirs gave our poore convoys and our squadron time to shift, else all had beene lost. Nothing is owing to any wise conduct but that of Providence which hath preserved us. I will yet never forgive our ministers for this ignorance, malice, or carlessnesse. Let them take it among them. I assure my selfe this wilbe gratefull news to such a good freind as you have beene to me, and to soe good an Englishman. Excuse blundring for haste. I am, Sir, Your most humble servant,

Ja: Houblon.

Past 11 a clock Monday.

[1] Probably Dr Gale.

[2] *I.e.*, Come down by river to Sayes Court at Deptford.

[3] Pepys's friend, James Houblon, had been knighted on October 29, 1692.

[4] In May 1693 Sir George Rooke had been appointed to convoy the outward-bound Mediterranean trade. Off Cape St Vincent he fell in with the whole navy of France, and on June 17 and 18 lost a large number of the merchant-ships in his charge.

52 [MS. i. 69]. Dr Charlett[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*], and the Latter's Reply [*Copy*].

*Univ. Coll.* [*Oxford*], *September* 28, 1693.

Sir,—I have desired Mr Sare of Gray's Inne Gate to present your nephew[2] with our Act Poetry.[3] We suppressed the publication of them because our poets proved such bad prophets, and now put them only into such gentlemen's hands as will not expose them or us.

I dare not let our good freind Captain Hatton see them, for I am sure they will displease him as much as our Antiquitys. Mr Woods is not at all amended with his late correction. He told me last night that he was now begging mony to pay my Lord Clarendon's fees,[4] and that he had already been forced to sell his MSS and other books, and that he could not allow himselfe now a pot of ale,—however he would go on still to collect truth, etc., with much more to the same purpose that would make you laugh heartily. I am, Honoured Sir, Your very humble servant, Ar. Charlett.

*Yorke-Buildings, Crast. Mich.*, [*September* 30], 1693.

Sir,—I owne with all the thankfullness I am able your favours shewn mee when here, and those you pursue them with from Oxford. Nor had I taken all this time for doing soe, had I been earlier instructed how to direct my selfe to you in it; your being come to Oxford remaining uncertain to mee till you were pleased to tell it mee in yours of the 28th currant.

[1] Dr Arthur Charlett had been appointed Master of University College, Oxford, in the previous year.

[2] John Jackson.

[3] Possibly poetry written in connexion with the Act at Oxford in the previous July; see the reference to "your late publick exercizes" in Pepys's reply (p. 72).

[4] The first volume of Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* had appeared in June 1691 and the second in June 1692, arousing very bitter feelings. In November 1692 Henry Hyde, the second Earl of Clarendon, had prosecuted him in the Vice-Chancellor's Court for libelling his father, and in July 1693 he was condemned in costs and expelled the University.

Your heads,[1] even to Mother George's,[2] are a very wellcome addition to my Collection, and accordingly it must acknowledge you it's benefactor; but 'tis confident enough at the same time to call you its debtor too, for Dr Hammond's,[3] Dundee's,[4] Dr Fell, Allestry's, and Dolben's,[5] and I think for Mr Wood's [6] and Dr Pocock's.[7] Forgive the clammyness of my memory on this occasion, for I can't help laying-up every word that sounds that way, and much less can I forgett names like these, the want of which (if to bee had) were alone enough to blast all I pretend to in it. I cannot therefore bee ashamed to pray your aid in reference to them, if within your power, or direction whither else I may apply myselfe for them, if they are not. For in all my searches after this commodity I do not remember that any one of them ever occurred to mee in this whole towne, nor of your owne neither, which I would less bee without than my owne, if your good will to mankind has at any time been strong enough to obtain of you a graving of it.

I have a particular sett of thanks to pay you for your University-Prints, I mean those of Loggan's worke [8] not to bee found in the ordinary volume of them; whereinto I have

[1] The original of this letter about prints of notable personages has been printed from the Ballard Letters in the *Academy*, xxxviii. (1890), 109.

[2] Alice George ("Mother George") was a centenarian at Oxford who died in 1691; she was said to have been born in 1550! This head, a mezzotint, is in the Pepysian Library Collection.

[3] Probably Henry Hammond (*d.* 1660), Chaplain to Charles I. There is no trace of him in the Pepysian Collection.

[4] The head of John Graham (of Claverhouse), first Viscount Dundee, is in the Pepysian Collection.

[5] John Fell was Dean of Christ Church and afterwards Bishop of Oxford; he was the biographer of Hammond. Richard Allestree was Provost of Eton. John Dolben was Archbishop of York. The reference in the text is probably to the engraving (after a picture in Christ Church Deanery) in which Fell, Allestree, and Dolben are represented sitting round a table; but it is not in the Pepysian Library, although there is a head of Allestree engraved by Loggan and a mezzotint of Dolben by R. Thompson after Huysmans.

[6] The Pepysian Collection contains both the head of Anthony Wood, the antiquarian, and also that of Sir William Wood, Marshall to the Regiment of Archers. The reference here is probably to the latter.

[7] Edward Pococke, the famous orientalist. This head is not in the Pepysian Collection.

[8] On David Loggan the engraver, see *D.N.B.*, xxxiv. 87.

therefore caused them to bee inserted, and thereby through your kindnesse rendred it much more valuable to mee.

Your late publick exercizes are what I have last to give you my acknowledgments for, and that you think so much more gently of my gusto towards them than of that of our excellent Captain Hatton's. In which neverthelesse I shall adventure upon disappointing you so farr as to respite the giving you any aime at my thoughts of them till I can at the same time entertain you with his too.

The account you give mee of Mr Wood's noe-mortification, and the further kicks he means to expose his teeth to from the heels of truth,[1] makes mee yet more covetous of his picture, if it bee to bee had. For hee is in more senses than one an original, but such a one as I can much better bear the being without than the copy.

I would to God your next would tell mee of something this towne could enable mee to furnish you with, in exchange for all or any part of this; and beshrew your good nature if you know what and doe not. For you will force mee else to what of most earthly things I would least willingly doe, I mean, unbespeak the continuance of a kindness I cannot repay. I am, Honoured Sir, Your most faithfull and obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

I have recovered my mistake, since I made it, in applying Loggan's name to the works of Burgher,[2] for which I pray your pardon.

53 [MS. i. 70]. Mr Pepys to Mr Isaac Newton [*Copy*].[3]

*Wednesday, November* 22, 1693.

Sir,—However this comes accompanyed with a little trouble to you, yet I cannot but say that the occasion is welcome to me, in that it gives me an opportunity of telling

[1] See note 6 on p. 71 above.

[2] Michael Burghers, a Dutchman who settled in Oxford in 1673. In 1692 he had been appointed engraver to the University.

[3] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 254, but with the omission of the questions at the end.

you that I continue most sensible of my obligations to you, most desirous of rendring you service in whatever you shall think me able, and noe lesse afflicted when I hear of your being in towne without knowing how to wait on you till it be too late for me to doe it.

This sayd, and with great truth and respect, I goe on to tell you that the bearer, Mr Smith,[1] is one I beare great goodwill to, noe less for what I personally know of his general ingenuity, industry, and virtue, than for the general reputation he has in this towne (inferiour to none, but superiour to most) for his maistery in the two points of his profession, namely, *Faire-Writeing* and *Arithmetick*, soe farr (principally) as is subservient to Accountantship. Now soe it is, that the late project (of which you cannot but have heard) of Mr Neale the Groom-Porter his lottery,[2] has almost extinguished for some time at all places of publick conversation in this towne, especially among men of numbers, every other talk but what relates to the doctrine of determining between the true proportions of the hazards incident to this or that given chance or lot.

On this occasion it has fallen-out that this gentleman is become concerned (more than in jest) to compass a solution that may be relyed-on beyond what his modesty will suffer him to think his owne alone, or any less than Mr Newton's to be, to a question which he takes a journey on purpose to attend you with, and prayed my giving him this introduction to you to that purpose, which, not in common friendship only but as due to his soe earnest an application after truth, though in a matter of speculation alone, I cannot deny him, and therefore trust you will forgive me in it, and the trouble I desire you to beare at my instance, of giving him your decision upon it, and the processe of your coming at it. Wherein I shall esteem myselfe on his behalfe greatly owing to you, and remaine, Honoured Sir, Your most humble and most affectionate and faithful servant, S. P.

[1] Writing-master at Christ's Hospital.

[2] Thomas Neale, Master of the Mint and Groom-Porter to the King, had suggested a public lottery-loan on the security of a new salt duty, and this was adopted by the Government in 1694.

The Question.

A—has 6 dice in a box, with which he is to fling a 6.
B—has in another box 12 dice, with which he is to fling 2 sixes.
C—has in another box 18 dice, with which he is to fling 3 sixes.

Q.—Whether B and C have not as easy a taske as A at even luck?

54 [MS. i. 71]. Mr Isaac Newton to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

[*Cambridge, November* 26, 1693.]

Sir,—I was very glad to hear of your good health by Mr Smith, and to have any opportunity given me of shewing how ready I should be to serve you or your friends upon any occasion, and wish that something of greater moment would give me a new opportunity of doing it so as to become more useful to you than in solving only a mathematical question. In reading the question it seemed to me at first to be ill stated, and in examining Mr Smith about the meaning of some phrases in it he put the case of the question the same as if A plaid with six dyes till he threw a six and then B threw as often with 12 and C with 18,—the one for twice as many, the other for thrice as many sixes. To examin who had the advantage, I tooke the case of A throwing with one dye and B with two, the former till he threw a six, the latter as often for two sixes, and found that A had the advantage. But whether A will have the advantage when he throws with 6 and B with 12 dyes I cannot tell, for the number of dyes may alter the proportion of the chances considerably, and I did not compute it in this case, the problem being a very hard one. And indeed, upon reading the question anew, I found that these cases do not come within the question. For here an advantage is given to A by his throwing first till he throws a six; whereas

[1] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 255.

the question requires that they throw upon equal luck, and by consequence that no advantage be given to any one by throwing first. The question is this:—

A has 6 dyes in a box, with which he is to fling a six.
B has in another box 12 dyes, with which he is to fling two sixes.
C has in another box 18 dyes, with which he is to fling 3 sixes.

Q. Whether B and C have not as easy a task as A at eaven luck?

If this question must be understood according to the plainest sense of the words, I think that sense must be this:

1. Because A, B, and C are to throw upon equal luck, there must be no advantage of luck given to any of them by throwing first or last, or by making any thing depend upon the throw of any one which does not equally depend on the throws of the other two. And therefore to barr all inequality of luck on these accounts, I would understand the question as if A, B, and C were to throw all at the same time.

2. I take the most proper and obvious meaning of the words of the question to be that when A flings more sixes than one he flings a six as well as when he flings but a single six and so gains his expectation, and so when B flings more sixes than two and C more than three they gain their expectations. But if B throw under two sixes and C under three, they miss their expectations, because in the question 'tis exprest that B is to throw 2 and C three sixes.

3. Because each man has his dyes in a box ready to throw, and the question is put upon the chances of that throw without naming any more throws than that, I take the question to be the same as if it had been put thus upon single throws.

What is the expectation or hope of A to throw every time one six at least with six dyes?

What is the expectation or hope of B to throw every time two sixes at least with 12 dyes?

What is the expectation or hope of C to throw every time three sixes or more than three with 18 dyes?

And whether has not B and C as great an expectation or hope to hit every time what they throw for as A hath to hit his what he throws for?

If the question be thus stated, it appears by an easy computation that the expectation of A is greater than that of B or C; that is, the task of A is the easiest. And the reason is because A has all the chances of sixes on his dyes for his expectation, but B and C have not all the chances on theirs. For when B throws a single six or C but one or two sixes, they miss of their expectations. This Mr Smith understands, and therefore allows that if the question be understood as I have stated it, then B and C have not so easy a task as A; but he seems of opinion that the question should be so stated that B and C as well as A may have all the chances of sixes on their dyes within their expectations. I do not see that the words of the question as 'tis set down in your letter will admit it, but this being no mathematical question, but a question what is the true mathematical question, it belongs not to me to determin it. I have contented my self therefore to set down how in my opinion the question according to the most obvious and proper meaning of the words is to be understood, and that if this be the true state of the question, then B and C have not so easy a task as A. But whether I have hit the true meaning of the question I must submit to the better judgments of your self and others. If you desire the computation, I will send it you. I am, Sir, Your most humble and most obedient servant, Is. Newton.

55 [MS. i. 72]. Mr Pepys to Mr Isaac Newton [*Copy*].

*York Buildings, December* 9, 1693.

Sir,—It was my fortune to bee out of towne at Mr Smith's returne, so as I received the favour of your letter left for mee by him, but have without successe expected every day to see him since my being back, that I might the more particularly render you with my thankes (which I doe most respectfully

pay you) my acknowledgments for the satisfaction you are therein pleased to give mee upon the question I troubled you with by him. I am suspitious hee is not well, that I have been soe long without his visit, or that hee is not yet informed of my being returned. I will not however longer respite my observing to you that the construction hee would putt upon the question (and which I would the rather have discoursed with him on, before my offering you any thoughts of mine upon it) seems no more to mee than I find it does to you in any wise warrantable from the terms of it; I carrying about mee just the same notion of its meaning that you doe, viz., How much more or lesse expectation A may (with equal lucke) reasonably have of throwing at one or every throw one sixe at least with six dyes, than B two sixes with twelve, or C three with eighteen dyes?

Now if this wording of the question sorts as well with your conceptions of it as I have endeavoured to make them speak mine, then I discerne your resolution to come clearly up to the question in the terms I understood it in, and that you give it in favour of the expectations of A, and this (as you say) by an easy computation. But yet I must not pretend to soe much conversation with numbers as presently[1] to comprehend as I ought to doe all the force of that which you are pleased to assigne for the reason of it, relating to their having or not having the benefit of all their chances; and therefore, were it not for the trouble it must have cost you, I could have wished for a sight of the very computation. But I have abundant reason to sitt downe (as I doe) without hesitancy under your determination, rather than keep-up an enquiry that I have already given you more interruption by than I can reasonably expect your excuse for.

I must confesse, were I now (after soe much chawing of the question) to begin my pursuit afresh after a solution to it, I think I should avoid some of the ambiguitys that commonly hang about our discoursings of it, by changing the characters of the dice from numbers to letters, and supposing them instead of 1, 2, 3, etc., to bee branded with the 6 initiall letters

[1] *I.e.* immediately.

of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F. And the case should then bee this:

Peter a criminal convict being doomed to dye, Paul his friend prevails for his having the benefitt of one throw only for his life, upon dice soe prepared; with the choice of any one of these three chances for it, viz.,

One F at least upon six such dice.

Two F's at least upon twelve such dice.

or

Three F's at least upon eighteen such dice.

Question:—Which one of these chances should Peter in this case choose?

I have the rather pitched upon this method of stating it, for the rendring it receptive of as simple and succinct an answer as (for the answerer's ease) I could. And therefore though I can't absolve my selfe of impertinence in the offering it, yet if you shall please, to what you have already indulged mee in it, to throw-in one act of kindnesse more, and tell mee your thought in the matter as thus drest, without creating more worke to your selfe in your reply than by giving it mee in either of these 2 words, the First—the Second—or the Third; I shall yet think I have asked too much, and rest ever, Your true honorer, and most faithfull humble servant,

S. Pepys.

For the honoured Mr Newton, Fellow of Trinity Colledge, Cambridge.

56 [MS. i. 73]. Mr Isaac Newton to Mr Pepys [*Copy*].[1]

*Cambridge, December* 16, 1693.

Sir,—In stating the case of the wager you seem to have exactly the same notion of it with me; and to the question which of the three chances should Peter chuse were he to have but one throw for his life, I answer, that if I were Peter, I would chuse the first. To give you the computation upon

[1] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 257.

which this answer is grounded, I would state the question thus :—

A hath six dice in a box, with which he is to fling at least one six for a wager laid with R.

B hath twelve dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least two sixes for a wager laid with S.

C hath eighteen dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least three sixes for a wager laid with T.

The stakes of R, S, and T are equal; what ought A, B, and C to stake, that the parties may play upon equal advantage?

To compute this I set down the following progressions of numbers :

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Progr. 1. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6, | the number of the dice. |
| Progr. 2. | 0. | 1. | 3. | 6. | 10. | 15. | |
| Progr. 3. | 6. | 36. | 216. | 1296. | 7776. | 46656, | the number of all the chances upon them. |
| Progr. 4. | 5. | 25. | 125. | 625. | 3125. | 15625, | the number of chances without sixes. |
| Progr. 5. | 1. | 5. | 25. | 125. | 625. | 3125. | |
| Progr. 6. | 1. | 10. | 75. | 500. | 3125. | 18750, | chances for one six and no more. |
| Progr. 7. | | 1. | 5. | 25. | 125. | 625. | |
| Progr. 8. | | 1. | 15. | 150. | 1250. | 9375, | chances for two sixes and no more. |

The progressions in this table are thus found: the first progression, which expresses the number of the dice, is an arithmetical one, viz., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.; the second is found by adding to every term the term of the progression above it, viz., $0+1=1$, $1+2=3$, $3+3=6$, $6+4=10$, $10+5=15$, etc.; the third progression, which expresses the number of all the chances upon the dice, is found by multiplying the number 6 into itself continually; and the fourth, fifth, and seventh are found by multiplying the number 5 into itself continually; the sixth is found by multiplying the terms of the first and fifth, viz., $1\times1=1$; $2\times5=10$, $3\times25=75$, $4\times125=500$, etc.; and the eighth is found by multiplying the terms of the second and seventh, viz., $1\times1=1$, $3\times5=15$, $6\times25=150$, $10\times125$

=1250, etc.; and by these rules the progressions may be continued on to as many dice as you please.

Now since A plays with six dice, to know what he and R ought to stake I consult the numbers in the column under six, and there from 46656, the number of all the chances upon those dice expressed in the third progression, I subduct 15625, the number of all the chances without a six expressed in the fourth; and the remainder, 31031, is the number of all the chances with one six or above. Therefore the stake of A must be to the stake of R, upon equal advantage, as 31031 to 15625, or $\frac{31031}{15625}$ to 1; for their stakes must be as their expectations, that is, as the number of chances which make for them. In like manner, if you would know what B and S ought to stake upon 12 dice, produce the progressions to the column of twelve dice, and the sum of the numbers in the fourth and sixth progressions, viz., 244140025+585937500= 830078125, will be the number of chances for S; and this number subducted from the number of all the chances in the third progression, viz., 2176782336, will leave 1346704211, the number of chances for B. Therefore the stake of B would be to the stake of S as 1346704211 to 830078125, or $\frac{1346704211}{830078125}$ to 1. And so by producing the progressions to the number of eighteen dice, and taking the sum of the numbers in the fourth, sixth, and eighth progressions for the number of the chances for T, and the difference between this number and that in the third column for the number of the chances for C, you will have the proportion of their stakes upon equal advantage. And thence it will appear that when the stakes of R, S, and T are units (suppose one pound or one guinea) and by consequence equal, the stake of A must be greater than that of B and that of B greater than that of C, and therefore A has the greatest expectation. The question might have been thus stated, and answered in fewer words: if Peter is to have but one throw for a stake of 1000*l.* and has his choice of throwing either one six at least upon six dice, or two at least upon twelve, or three at least

upon eighteen, which throw ought he to chuse, and of what value is his chance or expectation upon every throw, were he to sell it? Answer: Upon six dice there are 46656 chances, whereof 31031 are for him; upon 12, there are 2176782336 chances, whereof 1346704211 are for him; therefore his chance or expectation is worth the $\frac{31031}{46656}$th. part of 1000*l.* in the first case, and the $\frac{1346704211}{2176782336}$th. part of 1000*l.* in the second; that is, 665*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* in the first case, and 618*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in the second. In the third case the value will be found still less. This, I think, Sir, is what you desired me to give you an account of, and if there be any thing further you may command, Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Is: Newton.

For the Honourable Samuel Pepys Esqr.,
at the Navy-Office in York buildings,[1]
neare the Strand, in London.

57 [MS. i. 75]. Mr Pepys to Mr Isaac Newton [*Copy*].

*December* 21, 1693.

Sir,—If to what you have done, and which I can in no wise sufficiently acknowledge your favour in, it could bee excusable to come once more to you upon the same errand, it should bee to ask you whether B's disadvantage (in his contest with A) bee any thing different under his obligation to fling 2 sixes at one throw with 12 dyes, from what it would bee were hee to doe it at twice with 6 dyes at a time out of one box, or at once out of 2 boxes with that number in each; I being yet (I must owne) unable to satisfie my selfe touching the difference, *i.e.*, how it ariseth, though at the same time you have putt mee beyond all doubt of A's having the advantage

[1] Pepys's house in York Buildings had served as an office when he was Secretary of the Admiralty, and it was sometimes spoken of as the Admiralty Office after his retirement. The Navy Office is an inaccurate description.

in the main of B. Nor must I conceal my being at the same loss how to comprehend, even when flinging 12 dyes at one throw out of a single box (the said dyes being tinged, halfe green, half blew) my being less provided for turning up a six with either of these different coloured parcels while flung together out of the same box, than were the six blew to bee thrown out of one box and the 6 green from another; in which latter case, I presume each of them severally would bee equally entituled to the producing of a six with A's six white ones, and by consequence of 2 when flung together. I am conscious enough that this is but fumbling, and that it ariseth only from my not knowing how to make the full use of your Table of Progressions; but pray bee favourable to my unreadiness in keeping pace with you therein, and give mee one line of further helpe. I am most thankfully, Dear Sir, Your obliged and most humble and faithfull servant,

S. Pepys.

58 [MS. i. 77]. Mr Tollet's Opinion upon Chances, December 1693 [*Holograph*].

The Question.

A—Has 6 dice in a box with which he is to fling a six.

B—Has in another box 12 dice with which he is to fling two sixes.

C—Has in another box 18 dice with which he is to fling 3 sixes.

*Question.* Whether B and C have not as easy a task as A at even luck?

Allowing that it is the same thing (with respect to chances) whether 12 dice be flung at once out of one box, or by six and six either out of the same box at twice or both sixes togeather at one time out of two boxes; it will thence follow that two persons, X and Y, throwing each of them six dice out of two boxes, may fairly expect as many sixes to come

up between them as a third person, Z, who at the same time throws 12 dice out of one box.

And because X and Y, from their equal numbers of dice, ought to have equal expectation between themselves, and Z an expectation equal to them both; it followeth that X or Y alone with six dice may have the same expectation of throwing *one* six as Z for throwing *two* sixes upon 12 dice; and nothing otherwise in any sort The like may be inferred for throwing three sixes upon 18 dice, etc.

But notwithstanding the foregoing inference, a truer state and answer to the question will arise from the considerations following, viz.:

The number of all the severall chances upon six dice are,

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1°. Without a six . . . | | | 15625 | |
| 2°. With one six onely . . | | 18765 | | |
| 3°. With two sixes onely . . | 9360 | | | |
| 4°. With three sixes and noe more | 2500 | | | |
| 5°. With four sixes onely . . | 375 | | | |
| 6°. With five sixes onely . . | 30 | | | |
| 7°. With six sixes onely . . | 1 | 12266 | 31031 | |
| | | | | 46656 |

Whence it appears,

1°. That the number of chances upon six dice in which there is onely one six, is to the number of chances upon the same dice without a six, as 18765 to 15625, or in lesser numbers as 3753 to 3125, or, which is near enough, as 7 to 6.

2°. That the number of chances in which there are one or more sixes, to those in which there are noe sixes, is as 31031 to 15625; which is almost as 2 to 1.

3°. That besides the 18765 chances which X and Y have severally for throwing one single six, and consequently between them in conjunction for throwing two sixes upon their 12 dice; there are on each of their six dice apart 12266 other chances in every one of which there are two or more sixes for satisfying the demand in the second case,—supposing X or Y shoud one of them happen to throw noe six at all.

And 12266 being doubled, (X and Y having each of them the same advantage) makes 24532, viz., the over-plus of

chances in which are two or more sixes above the number of those in which there is noe six at all.

It may be farther noted that, there being upon six dice onely 15625 chances without a six, and 12266 in each of which are two or more sixes; there is, upon six dice, noe more odds for throwing noe six against throwing two or more sixes than 15625 to 12266, which is not quite soe much as 4 to 3.

59 [MS. i. 78]. Extracts [made by J. J.,[1] M.A., of M. C. in Cambridge] of Mr N[ewton]'s and Mr T[ollet]'s Calculations upon the following Question, viz.:

[*December* 22, 1693.]

A has 6 dyes in a box, with which he is to throw 1 six.
B has in another box 12 dyes, with which he is to throw 2 sixes.
C has in another box 18 dyes, with which he is to throw 3 sixes.
} or more.

Q. Whether B and C have not as easy a task as A at even luck?

With further thoughts thereon conformable to Mr N.'s.

Result of Mr N.'s Calculations.

| | | Chances. |
|---|---|---|
| A with 6 dyes for 1 six, hath | for him, viz., with 1 six or more, | 31031 |
| | against him, viz., with never a six, | to 15625. |
| B with 12 dyes for 2 sixes, hath | for him, viz., with 2 sixes or more, | 1346704211 |
| | against him, viz., with never a six, 244140625 / but 1 six, 585937500 | to 830078125. |

Which shews the expectations of B to bee considerably

[1] J. J. of M. C. is probably John Jackson of Magdalene College, Pepys's nephew.

less than those of A, and *sic deinceps*, C's than B's; assigning to each the following proportions:—

In 1000*l.* hee values A's expectations at 665*l.* 00*s.* 02*d.*, B's at but 618*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and C's yet less than B's.

---

Mr T.'s Calculations.

Chances.

A with 6 dyes for 1 six, hath { for him, viz., with 1 six or more, 31031 to against him, viz., with never a six, 15625.

Then supposing it to bee the same thing for B to throw his 12 dyes by 6 and 6 at two severall times or all together at once, hee saith,

Chances.

B has { for him, viz., with { 1 six in his { first sett, 18765 / 2d sett, 18765 } 37530 / 2 sixes or more in his { 1st sett, 12266 / 2d sett, 12266 } 24532 } 62062 to against him, viz., with never a six in his { 1st sett, .. 15625 / 2d sett, .. 15625 } 31250.

Which being nothing more than a repetition or doubling of the first case, hee makes the expectations of B in all respects equall to those of A, and B's to C's, and *sic deinceps*.

But this not agreeing with Mr N.'s computation, it is next to bee examined which of the two is to prevail. Mr N.'s cannot well bee suspected to bee fallacious, hee proceeding upon the question in every point as it is stated, and seeming gradually to demonstrate the result. But Mr T.'s being founded upon a supposition, namely, its being the same thing in the case of B whether hee throws his 12 dyes all together at once or by 6 and 6 at twice, it is suggested that possibly the difference may arise from thence.

But this scruple is removed by an easy admission in the stating of the question, viz.,

Supposing B (who is to throw 2 sixes at least with 12 dyes) would colour one halfe of his dyes green and the other halfe red; What reason can there bee alledged, why hee should not have the same expectation upon each of those setts as A upon his single sett?

To answer which and Mr T. at once,

It is granted to bee an indifferent thing whether B throws his 12 dyes all together at once or by 6 and 6 at twice; or in the case as last stated, B is allowed to have the very same expectations of throwing 1 six or more upon either of his setts *separately* as A upon his single sett: but it is denied to have the same expectation of throwing 2 sixes *at least* between them, or else to lose the benefit of a single six upon one sett: therein lying the odds and Mr T.'s defect, namely, the no-benefit to B of throwing 1 six upon the first sett without another at least upon the second, or *vice versa*. For which Mr T. seems to have made noe abatement, though hee gives all the advantages of throwing 2 sixes upon one sett, allotting no other chances against B but the throwing no six at all. Inferred from the considerations following,

## Case of A and B compared.

1st.—By shewing how far their expectations with respect to their chances do both equally agree.

2. —By considering the advantages and disadvantages peculiar to B and in no wise incident to A.

3. —By comparing the said advantages and disadvantages, and examining the proportion they bear to each other.

1.—How far their expectations agree?

| | | | Chances. |
|---|---|---|---|
| A with 6 dyes for 1 six, has | for him, viz., with 1 six or more, | | 31031 |
| | | | to |
| | against him, viz., with never a six, | | 15625. |
| B has | for him, viz., with | 1 six in his first sett, 18765 + 2d sett, 18765 = 37530 | 62062 |
| | | 2 sixes or more in his first sett, 12266 + second sett, 12266 = 24532 | |
| | | | to |
| | against him, viz., with never a six in his first sett, 15625 + second sett, 15625 | | 31250, |

being the very same with the foregoing calculations of Mr T.'s.

2. But then are to be considered an advantage and a disadvantage attending B's wager of throwing 2 sixes at least

between his 2 setts which have no place in A's of throwing but 1 six upon a single sett.

His *advantage* is, the possibility of throwing 2 sixes upon one sett in case the other should happen to throw none; whereas 2 sixes in A's case would bee of no more use to him than the throwing but one. But this is all; the throwing of 3, 4, 5, or 6 sixes being equally useless to B and A.

His *disadvantage* is, the possibility of his throwing but 1 six between both setts; in which case his loss is the same as if he threw none upon either. Whereas A has no chances against him but the throwing never a six.

To compare then the advantage with the disadvantage:

The number of chances which B has for throwing 2 sixes upon each sett is . . . . . 9360

The number of chances there are for his throwing no six upon each sett is . . . . . 15625

Whereby the disadvantagious hazard peculiar to B's case of throwing 2 sixes at least upon 12 dyes, and in noe wise incident to A's of throwing 1 six with 6 dyes, appears to exceed very much its advantagious one.

Or, in stricter calculations, thus:

To make the expectations of B for throwing 2 sixes at least with 12 dice equall to those of A for throwing 1 six with 6 dyes, the *advantages* arising to B from the addition of 6 dyes ought fully to equal the *disadvantages* attending it. Which they appear not to doe by the following computation:

A (whose part is to throw one six with 6 dyes) apprehends no other possible hazard against him but the throwing never a six; and that but once.

B (who is to throw 2 sixes *at least* with 12 dyes) undergoes the forementioned hazard twice; without any adequate advantage to compensate for it. Supposing him (as the case is chose to be stated) to throw his 12 dyes at twice by 6 in a sett, hee is in danger of throwing no six in the first sett; or if hee does throw one in that, hee runs the like hazard again of throwing none in the second: without which his

single six in the first sett stands him in no stead. So that to answer this repeated hazard of throwing n'ere a six in each sett, there are only the chances for throwing 2 sixes upon one sett. Which bear no proportion to the number of the other, viz., for throwing no six in each sett. Demonstrated as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The chances upon the first sett for throwing | 1 six or more, are | 31031 |
| | no six, are | 15625 |
| More for 1 six (or more) than for none, by | | 15406 |
| The chances upon the 2d sett | against 2 sixes or more, are | 34390 |
| | with 2 sixes or more, are | 12226 |
| More against 2 sixes or more than with 2 sixes or more, by | | 22164 |
| So that deducting out of this latter overplus of chances against 2 sixes or more, the overplus of chances in the former sett for 1 six or more, viz. : | | 15406 |
| The difference amounts to | | 6758 |

Which is so much abated of the advantage of a single sett (viz., 15406) by uniting (with a mutual dependance) the expectations of 2 setts.

Or in yet more short and common terms, thus,

W laies a wager with X that hee does not throw 1 six *at least* the first throw upon 6 dyes. Which is A's task.

Y laies a wager with Z that hee does not doe it twice together, one after another. Which is B's task.

Must not Y bee thought to have laid a much wiser wager than W ? Yet this is the very case in dispute, abating only the possibility of throwing 2 sixes at least upon one sett. Which hath been shewn to bear no proportion to the hazard of throwing *none at all* upon each sett.

From all that foregoes it appears in general, though the calculations may not be nicely true, that the disadvantages lie considerably on B's side ; and those ariseing from that mutual dependence between his 2 setts which makes a single six upon one sett of no benefit at all without another upon the other sett.

[Here is omitted another version (MS. i. 79) of the preceding document, in the form of a rough draft, much corrected, by the same hand.]

60 [MS. i. 76]. Mr Isaac Newton to Mr Pepys [*Copy*].

*Cambridge, December* 23, 1693.

Sir,—I take it to be the same case whether a man, to throw two sixes, have one throw with twelve dyes or two throws with six, but I reccon it an easier task to throw with six dyes one six at one throw than two sixes at two throws. Were James to have twice as many throws as Peter, and as often as he throws a six to win half as much as Peter doth by the like throws, and by consequence were James to win as [much] at every two such throws as Peter doth at every one such throw and half as much at every such single throw, their cases would be equal. But this is not the case of the wager. As the wager is stated, Peter must win as often as he throws a six, but James may often throw a six and yet win nothing, because he can never win upon one six alone. If Peter flings a six (for instance) four times in eight throws, he must certainly win four times, but James upon equal luck may throw a six eight times in sixteen throws and yet win nothing For as the question in the wager is stated, he wins not upon every single throw with a six as Peter doth, but only upon every two throws wherein he throws at least two sixes. And therefore if he flings but one six in the two first throws, and one in the two next, and but one in the two next, and so on to sixteen throws, he wins nothing at all, though he throws a six twice as often as Peter doth, and by consequence have equal luck with Peter upon the dyes. Mr Smith, being sensible of this disadvantage, would put such a sense upon the question that James may in some cases have some advantage of a single six, but this I was not satisfied in because it seemed to me contrary to the words of the question. He represents that it was their meaning, when they laid the wager, that James could do twice as much with 12 dyes as Peter with six, which is true if all the chances of sixes be considered, but in the wager all the chances are not considered. It requires that B (here called James) throw two sixes with twelve dyes at once, or (which is all one) with six dyes at twice. One six is not considered. 'Tis a losing cast,

and this gives A (here called Peter) the advantage. In what proportion A has the advantage I computed in my last. If there be any thing else, pray command. Your most humble and most obedient servant, Is. Newton.

[Note in pencil: "The originals given to Mr Upcot."]

61 [MS. i. 81]. Mr George Tollet to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*], with the Latter's Reply [*Copy*].

*Office of Accounts in*
*York Buildings, February* 8, 1693–4.

Sir,—Amongst many faults that are in the paper which I herewith send you, the length of it may justly be complained on; especially the subject being neither profitable, nor yet (by reason of its over-great varietie) so much as moderately pleasant.

If in excuse hereof it were allowable to say, It might have been much longer, the omission both of demonstrations and the method of investigating, the transcribing but a part of what was writ to take this out of, etc., would somewhat favour that excuse. But the truth and all that can be said herein is, I wanted leisure to make it shorter; or at least to make it seem soe by allowing more regard to order and expression than I have done. Which is another of its faults, to wit, the want of plainness. One instance amongst others of this sort will occur in the words *chances*, *varieties*, and *casts*; which I have used under different significations, without knowing whether authors or gamesters soe distinguish them, or whether I have done it properly.

I must be obliged to you for guessing at my meaning through the whole; especially for making this favourable conjecture, viz., that I writ it not with an expectation that you shoud interrupt your admirable and useful readings by the perusal of such a trifle, but that I might omit no oppertunity of acknowledging that I am, with all sincerity and great respect, Honoured Sir, Your obliged and most humble servant, Geo. Tollet.

*Wednesday, February* 14, 1693–4.

Sir,—I have taken all this time for't, and can scarce yet tell in what termes to thank you for your late admirable present; whether as for a further exercize upon my old lesson (which indeed I expected, and have been strugling to apply it to) or for a new and different one, namely, that A (in our question) has an easier taske than B, and a yet more easy one than C, such (I take it) being the doctrine of this paper; and full glad I am of my soe seasonably meeting with it, as being upon the very brink of a wager (10*l.* deep) upon my former belief. But apostacy (wee all know) is now no novelty, and therefore like others I shall endeavour to make the best of mine, and face my antagonist downe that I always meant thus. But then I must begg your ayde, that I may not bee outbraved (as I have sometimes seen it done at Garraway's [1]) by a cross-offer, and for want of knowing well why, not know which to stick to. But this will require another cast of your kindnesse, for I cannot bear the thought of being made master of a jewell I know not how to wear. Besides that I esteem it no lessening to mee to acknowledge that the much greater part of the learning you lay before mee in this paper lies beyond my depth, and that without your hand I must sink in the attempting it.

For the self-deniall you accompany it with, 'tis a fundamental with mee that nothing that (like this) brings knowledge with it can bee either tedious, unprofitable, or unpleasant. And therefore coming so full fraughted as it does of that, I can spare you your modesty back again, and shall when I see you. Which if I might propose, should bee this noone, before to morrow's, and the rather because to day wee may bee alone, to morrow wee can't. Friday is too far off, and what then must Saturday bee? Your most obliged and most humble and affectionate servant, S. Pepys.

[1] A well-known coffee-house founded by Thomas Garway, the first English tea-dealer.

[MS. i. 82]. Mr Tollet's Calculations.

[*December* 1693.]

Calculations towards answering the following question, viz. :—

A has 6<br>B has 12<br>C has 18 } dyes in a box, with which hee is to fling { 1 six<br>2 sixes<br>3 sixes at least

*Question.*—Have not B and C as easy a task as A at even luck ?

*Answer.*—No ; A's being not only a more easy task than B's but yet more easy than that of C.

To prove which assertion, and the proportion of the odds they bear to each other, there needs no more than the following :—

Tables, shewing all the various casts, either without a six or with any number of sixes, that can bee thrown upon 6, 12, or 18 dyes respectively.

| For 6 dyes. | | For 12 dyes. | | For 18 dyes. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of sixes. | How many ways throwable. | No. of sixes. | How many ways throwable. | No. of sixes. | How many ways throwable. |
| 6 | | 12 | | 18 | |
| 5 | | 11 | | 17 | |
| 4 | | 10 | | 16 | |
| 3 | | 9 | | 15 | |
| 2 | | 8 | | 14 | |
| 1 | | 7 | | 13 | |
| 0 | | 6 | | 12 | |
| | | 5 | | 11 | |
| | | 4 | | 10 | |
| | | 3 | | 9 | |
| | | 2 | | 8 | |
| | | 1 | | 7 | |
| | | 0 | | 6 | |
| | | | | 5 | |
| | | | | 4 | |
| | | | | 3 | |
| | | | | 2 | |
| | | | | 1 | |
| | | | | 0 | |
| Totals | 46656 | | 2176782336 | | 101559956668416 |

| | Upon 6 dyes. A's case. | Upon 12 dyes. B's case. | Upon 18 dyes. C's case. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Out of which totals, viz., . . . | 46656 | . . . 2176782336 | . . . 101559956668416 |
| Deducting the losing casts viz., with no six at all | 15625 | 244140625 | 3814697265625 |
| with but 1 six . | .. | 585937500 } 830078125 | 13732919156250 } 40803554687500 |
| with but 2 sixes | .. | .. | 23345947265625 [*sic*] |
| The winning casts upon each are . | 31031 | . . 1346704211 | . . . 60666401980916 |

To apply which to the decision of the Question there rests only to examine the proportion of the winning casts to the total in each case respectively, viz. :—

| | Upon 6 dyes. A's case. | Upon 12 dyes. B's case. | Upon 18 dyes. C's case. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The whole number of casts are | 46656 | 2176782336 | 101559956668416 |
| Whereof the winning ones are | 31031 | 1346704211 | 60666401980916 |
| The proportion of the winning casts to the whole | as 2 to 3 or $\frac{2}{3}$ | as 5 to 8 or $\frac{5}{8}$ | as 7 to 12 or $\frac{7}{12}$ |

And $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, and $\frac{7}{12}$ (being equall to $\frac{16}{24}$, $\frac{15}{24}$, and $\frac{14}{24}$) are in proportion amongst themselves as the numbers 16, 15, and 14; consequently A's advantage so much greater than B's, and B's than C's.

[The detailed calculations which supply the figures in these tables are appended in the MS., but it has not been thought necessary to print them.]

[MS. i. 84]. Mr Tollet's Calculations of all the possible Chances throwable upon 6, 12, and 18 Dice; with the like upon 5, 10, and 15. [December 1693.]

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 | 5 |
| 36 | 25 |
| 216 | 125 |
| 1296 | 625 |
| 7776 | 3125 |
| 46656 | 15625 |
| 279936 | 78125 |
| 1679616 | 390625 |
| 10077696 | 1953125 |
| 60466176 | 9765625 |
| 362797056 | 48828125 |
| 2176782336 | 244140625 |
| 13060694016 | 1220703125 |
| 78364164096 | 6103515625 |
| 470184984576 | 30517578125 |
| 2821109907456 | 152587890625 |
| 16926659444736 | 762939453125 |
| 101559956668416 | 3814697265625 |

[This and the preceding documents are described by a general endorsement: "Papers upon the Question, Which has the easier task, viz., A, in his undertaking to throw 1 six at least at one throw with 6 dice, or B, in his to throw 2 sixes at least at one throw with 12?"]

62 [MS. i. 86]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*Wotton, July 7*, 1694.

My worthy Friend,—It's now high time for me to make some apologie (if I had any besides your wonted indulgence) for the trouble I lately gave you of a cumbersome packet; and (after I have enquired of your good health, with the rest of our Saturday's Academists[2]) to rëiterate my thanks for the booke you sent me. You will not be much inquisitive what I am doing whilst there's so much hay abroad and the

[1] This letter is described in the endorsement as "A letter of respect."

[2] Pepys had been in the habit of entertaining some of the most distinguished members of the Royal Society on Saturday evenings at his house in York Buildings.

sun shines so bright; at least here is work enough for those who have leasure. This is the style of the place, the season, and of my buisines, and must have ben (for aught I know) my best employment, if some kind *Genius* had not in pitty directed the most learned Mr *Wotton* to give me a visit, and an inestimable present too, his *Reflections upon the Antient and Modern Learning*;[1] which in recognition of yours I should have sent you, but that I was confident you must e're this have seene it, and ben entertained with as much delight and satisfaction as an universaly learned, and indeede extraordinary person is able to give the most refined tast. This is he whom I have sometimes mentioned to you for one of the miracles of this age for his early and vast comprehension. Set him downe then in your *Albo* amongst the *Gales*[2] and the *Bentlys*,[3] as you will certainely do so soone as you know him. I assure you, he is no lesse in the pulpit and conversation than in his booke and writing (with greate modesty). Judge you then what an unexpected blessing is befallen me in the wildernes, and with what *manna* I am fed, when ever he dos me the kindnes to come from *Albery*[4] (where he has the care of a hopefull young son of Mr *Finch's*[5]) to *Wotton*, his name-sake as he calls it. And now you may well think I talke as famished and halfe-sterved men are said to eate when they come to plenty of provisions; for so indeede I do, not having had such a *regalo*[6] since I went from York-buildings; nor should I have known what to write from this barren country had not this gentleman furnished me. I am told our friend *Dr Lock*[7] has made addition to his excellent *Essay*, which may be had without a necessitie of purchasing the whole booke; and a letter just now sent me from the *Bishop of Lincoln*[8] acquaints me that there is a little piece

[1] William Wotton's *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* was published in 1694.

[2] See note on p. 59 above. [3] See note on p. 49 above.

[4] Albury, between Guildford and Dorking, and not far from Wotton.

[5] Heneage Finch, afterwards first Earl of Aylesford.

[6] "Regalo"=a choice or elegant entertainment.

[7] A second edition of John Locke's *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, first published in 1690, was issued in 1694.

[8] Thomas Tenison; at the end of 1694 he was nominated Archbishop of Canterbury.

in 12 called *Religion and Reason* which he says will give one an hour's good diversion; for both which I am sending. That Mr *Wharton's* Life of the Archbishop (the preface of which you lately so kindly sent me) is by this time printed.[1] This is better newes than what we have here from *Brest*,[2] which I am astonished to find published, for the same reason that you and I would not that all the world should reproch our want of conduct as well as misfortunes.

My most humble service to the most obliging Dr Gale. Receive you my wife's, who is at present become a water-bibber here, though we fetch it from *Lingfield*, almost 20 miles distant on the edge of Sussex, and is stronger than the Spaw of *Tunbridge*. If you or the Doctor come neere to *Epshum* this summer, I flatter myselfe you will make halfe a dozen miles step farther south to, Both your most humble and faithfull servant, J. Evelyn.

We drink Mr Bently's health, and wish his library finished, that we may have the sermons he has promised us, etc.

63 [MS. i. 95]. Mr Pepys to Mr Evelyn [*Copy*].[3]

*August* 10, 1694.

Dear Sir,—I have been a good deal out of order myself, but much more soe in my family, for some time, and have three down at this house[4] of the feaver of the season; but I thank God none mortally, but on the contrary well advanced in their recovery. This however has kept me a great while under care, and the more from the novelty of it (it being among all domestique evils that which by God's favour I have been least exercized with) and has sett me (as one effect of it) greatly in arrear to all my friends, and to you at the head of them, for which I am now looking out for pardons,

[1] Henry Wharton's life of Archbishop Laud was published in 1695.
[2] A reference to Lieutenant-General Thomas Tollemache's futile attack upon Brest in the preceding June.
[3] Printed, but with a wrong date, in Smith, ii. *265.
[4] Presumably York Buildings

and with most concernment for yours. Which pray let this obtain for me.

I am owing to you for two: the former in May, the other in July.

Your Virginia-letter was delivered, immediately after my receipt of it, to the merchant's own hand from which you had yours.

I earlily did your commands to my Lord Clarendon,[1] and since have had the honour of a visite from him, when your name wanted not the mention due to it from all that know it and themselves.

Dr Gale[2] acknowledges himself your debtor, as I am his, for all the ease I have had a great while; the greatest ingredient of which is, the frequent remembrance his conversation starts occasions for between us of our distant friend Mr Evelyn.

Mr Bentley is still (I believe) at Worcester, and a great man where'ere he is. But 'tis winter only that will help us to any tideings (I doubt) either of his Library or Lectures.[3]

You have great reason to joy yourself, as you doe, in such a neighbourhood as that of Mr Wotton's;[4] whose incomparable discourse I read betimes, and was to blame I did not first doe right to it to you. Hee is indeed to be reckoned among the leaders of the Age for learning, through all the dimensions of it, length, breadth, and depth; and if he lives a little longer (as I hope he will a great deal) he will have nothing left him to doe but what nobody but himself was, or possibly will ever be, soe fitted to doe as hee; I mean, the reducing into less room what poor mankind is now to turn-over soe many cumbersome, jejune, and not seldom unintelligible volumes for, and when that's done, not have 5, perhaps not one year, to reckon-upon of his whole life for the sedate applying and enjoying those sorry pittances of seeming knowledge that he possibly has been 50 in collecting. What a debt were this to lay upon mankind! and from what

[1] See note on p. 33 above.
[2] See note on p. 59 above.
[3] See note on p. 49 above and p. 101 below. Bentley had been appointed in 1690 chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester.
[4] See p. 95 above.

hand ever to be hoped-for but that of such an universalist as Mr Wotton, and one soe soon arrived at the being soe? I shall hope for the honour and pleasure of waiting on him whenever the season or business shall bring you to towne together.

I enclose you a paper new to me and soe (it may be) to you: the inscription on the late venerable Bishop of Oxford's monument,[1] which has something very awfull in it, and answering his character.

The Virtuosi there, are (you know) gathering and printing a generall Catalogue of what Manuscripts, publique or private, our country is possessed of.[2] It is indeed a work that I have long wished. Not that I have aught of my owne to contribute to it. But I well remember how much I have been obliged to them that have, I mean, yourselfe; and believe there are a great many other valuable things in ingenuous men's hands that (like you) would be glad to communicate them where they thought the publique might be served by it; and this in all Facultys. I send you the freshest account I have had from Oxford of their advance herein; and with it must give you the postscript of a letter I lately had on this subject from our learned and most solicitous friend in this and all like virtuous undertakings, Dr Charlett (Maister of University-College) in his own few words: "We must not forget Mr Evelyn's MSS; and what became of Sir Richard Browne's?"[3] This hee meant but for a text for me to enlarge on to you. But it needs not; the doctrine and application of it being selfe-evident. Let me only add my instance to his, that you would further this work with the credit of what your stocks will give it.

I take the liberty of sending you the newest French toy that is come to my hand, which (if you have not seen) will not want some divertisement for you, if you may be thought to need any where you are soe well and variously employed as your letters shew me.

[1] The reference is to the famous Dr Fell, upon whose monument in the Cathedral at Oxford is a long inscription recording the events of his life.

[2] See note on p. 103 below.

[3] Sir Richard Browne, the diplomatist, Evelyn's father-in-law.

My Lady will (I hope) find her end in the use of the waters, and ere this is returned home possessed of it. I wish her steadiness of health, and to you too, and with my most profound respects to both, remaine, Deare Mr Evelyn, Your most faithful and obedient servant, S. Pepys.

[1] Dr Lock has sett a usefull sample [2] for future reprinters; I hope it will bee followed, in bookes at least of value. I have read the little thing the Bishop [3] recommended to you about Reason and Religion, and found great satisfaction in it. Adieu.

64 [MS. i. 87]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[4]

*Wotton, September* 2, 1694.

My worthy Friend,—*Ecce iterum provocas me beneficiis, neque habeo ullum ἀντίδωρον*, which plunges me more and more into debt; this last packet of yours coming fruited with so many favours at once that I know not which of them first to give thanks for, all of them deserving a particular acknowledgement.

I am extreamely pleased with these *Valesianus's*; [5] they are to me like those *inter-messes* which are placed betweene the larger dishes, not to make a meale upon but to furnish vacuities. I wish we had more of these *Attic nights*, and am glad to find they come so into fashion. Nor do I looke on them as scraps, but as *bellaria* [6] and *cupediæ*,[7] which refresh with their pretty varietie when one has ben tired with moiling and turning-over the rubbish you justly complaine of to lie in the way. With you therefore I have a thousand times deplored that there has yet ben so little don toward the ridding us of this monstrous lumber. Honest *Gesner* [8] has yet

[1] The postscript is in Pepys's hand.
[2] *I.e.* precedent.
[3] Of Lincoln.
[4] Printed, but inaccurately and with considerable omissions, in Smith, ii. *269; the editor supplies no date.
[5] The *Valesiana* is a collection of the literary opinions of the historiographer, Adrian de Valois (Valesius); he died in 1692.
[6] Dessert.
[7] Delicacies.
[8] The famous naturalist and author, Konrad Gesner of Zürich (1516–1565).

don his part, and shewed how fuisaible [1] it were by the example he has set and such as of late have taken paines in the histories of animals and plants, etc. Dr Pell [2] left a *diatyposis* [3] of what he pretended to have performed in the Mathematics, and *Bishop Wilkins*, in his preliminaries to his Essay of a *Real Character*,[4] scored-out many very usefull Tables preparatory to a more universal worke than that of words alone. But so did my Lord Bacon before him with his caution concerning *Epitomies*; and yet, I pray, what would the losse have ben if some of our tedious historians were contracted to so little detriment as *Dio* [5] has suffered by John Xiphilin,[6] and most of the Fathers of the Church by the late *Dupin?* [7] I speake not this by guesse, having not long-since examind him, after I had first read *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which you know is a booke of greate varietie; nor is he the onely voluminous theologue I have compared him with of the primitive writers without finding any material passage omitted or slightly treated. The *prolegomena* of the Polyglotte Bible [8] is another instance, etc. In the meane time, what a benefactor were he that were able and willing to give us such a catalogue of authors as were onely, and absolutely, and fully effectual to the attaining of such a competency of practical, usefull, and speculative knowledge too, as one might hope to benefit by

[1] Feasible.

[2] Dr John Pell the mathematician (*d.* 1685), whose actual achievements in his subject did not justify his high reputation.

[3] Description.

[4] *An Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language*, with tables appended, was published by John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, in 1668. He was Evelyn's "deare and excellent friend," and Pepys in the *Diary* makes several references to his book, "which do please me mightily" (December 1, 1668).

[5] Dio Cassius, the historian of Rome, *b.* 155.

[6] John Xiphilin was the Professor-Principal (*Nomophylax*) of the State School of Law at Constantinople established (*c.* 1045) by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus.

[7] Louis Ellies Dupin (1657–1719), an eminent ecclesiastical historian, had published the first volume of his *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques* in 1686, and another in 1693. "The late Dupin" must refer to the book and not to the author.

[8] Probably the Polyglot Bible published in 1657 by Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester. It contains prolegomena giving a critical history of the texts and an account of the languages in which they are written.

within the ordinarie circles of one's life, without being bewildered and quite out of the way when one should be gotten home. I am still perswaded this were not impossible, and that lesse than an hundred authors, studied in proper method, would go a greate way towards this end. I do not meane by excluding any of the Classics, which in a very few yeares may all be read, together with all the Greeke and Latine historians from *Herodotus* downwards. But I speake of the subsidiarie arts and other faculties, as far as to accomplish one who did not intend a particular profession; or if he did, find the rest any burden to him. I know you have read *Grotius's* Epistle to *Monsieur Maurerius*; it is his first *ad Gallos*.[1] What then might not a younger man who sets out early hope to attaine by some such method? But I forget I am writing to one who knowes all this so much better and is so ready to promote the common good of man-kind. I concurr with you therefore in all you say and think of Mr Wotton [2] upon this chapter; but 'tis now neere three-weekes since I saw him, about which time I understand he went to London, and whether he be yet returned I have not heard. Onely a little before he went, he shewed me a letter from *Mr Bently* acquainting him that so much buisinesse was likely to be his share (since he had undertaken the Library at White-hall, besides other attendances) that he should not be able to continue his Lecture very long; [3] and therefore most earnestly conjured him to take it up, there being no man so well furnished for it; giving him withall a short scheme after what method he intended to have proceeded. Since this, I lately received a letter from the *Bishop of Lincoln* [4] intimating as much, and that if we must lose Mr Bently, he thought none more fit to supply his roome; but this will be referred to our meeting in the terme, before

[1] A translation of Hugo Grotius's "Consolatory Epistles to Monsieur Du Maurier and Thuanus" had come out in 1694, and no doubt it is to this that Evelyn refers. Baron Maurier or Mourier had written the lives of the Princes of Orange, and James Augustus de Thou (Thuanus) wrote on French history. Grotius's *Epistolae ad Gallos* appeared 1648–50.

[2] See p. 97 above.

[3] See note on p. 49 above. In 1694 Bentley was appointed Keeper of the Royal Libraries.

[4] See note on p. 95 above.

which I hope to kisse my deare friend's hands at York-Buildings. As for *Manuscripts*, my stock is so tritling and this whole county (as far as I can possibly learne) so thin of scholars and libraries, that I fore-see little is to be expected from hence. What I have, consisting chiefely of Italian conclaves, letters, and political matters, most relating to the late times, I would send you a catalogue of if I thought them suitable to the designe of those learned editors, which I suppose chiefely consists in antiquities, critics, and other rare and valuable pieces.

And now let me not forget to congratulate the health which I hope is by this time confirmed to you and yours, with my hearty prayers for the perfection and continuance of it. My wife (who is your humble servant) is after all her water-drinking in perpetual apprehension of some thing which makes her very uneasy. For the rest, I thank God I beare-up tollerably as yet, and whilst I do so, and for ever, I am, Dear Sir, Yours most unfainedly, [J. E.]

My most humble service to our Doctor.[1] There be many Doctors, but they are none of them so ours.

Aboundance of thanks for the epitaph; it containes nothing but what is realy due to that worthy prelate.[2]

The specimen of Tullie is in a most excellent letter, and the account of the books now published and in the presse at Oxon. shewes they begin to make a better choice than they have some times don.

I pray when you next write to *Dr Charlett*,[3] acquaint him with what I say concerning MSS, and his expectation from my poore stock.

Thanks for my Virginia conveyances.

65 [MS. i. 88]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Dover-streete, November* 18, 1694.

Sir,—It was, I assure you, upon a letter of yours sent me the last summer to *Wotton*, and another a little after with the

[1] Dr Gale. [2] See p. 98 above. [3] See note on p. 70 above.

reiterated desires of *Mr Gibbins*, that I was prevailed with to transcribe and leave this catalogue with him; but by no meanes thinking it fit to take up any place among the titles of MSS. which could be of any use to the designe of the University,[1] and therefore intreated him to consider well of it before he sent it to Oxford. And now I am heartily sorry to find it there whilst I see none of Mr Pepys's, so much more worthy to be published for the very greate variety of the choycest subjects, no where else to be found in England. If you persist to deney the Doctor's request (as it seemes til now, unknown to me, you have don) I shall almost beleeve you do it to expose me, with the rest who are brought upon the stage. Of this therefore acquit your-selfe as you can; to be sure, I shall tell your story to Dr Charlett [2] unlesse you do justice to your friends and to the publique.

In the meane time, I returne you the proofs you sent me, and should be glad it were dissolved rather than wrought-off [3] unlesse I were assured of your companie. But perhaps you are ashamed of it; and indeede you have reason, *comparatis comparandis*, and in that case I have no more to say, but you dare not send this letter to Dr Charlett, though you sent his to me, Your humble servant, Sir, J. E.

9 a clock this night, before I came in from visiting some of your friends and mine.

66 [MS. i. 89]. Mr Pepys to Dr Bernard [4] [*Copy*].

*January* 21, 1694–5.

Sir,—I return you with infinite thanks your two curious books, which indeed have done mee an extraordinary office

[1] This "designe" was *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti*, published in 1697. "Mr Gibbins" might possibly be the famous scholar Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, who had just described the MSS. bequeathed by Sir William Dugdale to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and was taking much interest in the scheme.

[2] See note on p. 70 above.

[3] The sense is that Evelyn would rather have the type distributed than sheets printed off unless Pepys were represented there.

[4] Edward Bernard, critic and astronomer; Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, 1673–91.

upon an occasion I should not otherwise have known how to have helpt my selfe in. Dr Sloane [1] will I hope make my just compliments to you about it, as my honoured friend Captain Hatton alsoe shortly will for your like seasonable favour to mee in your *Fauchet* [2] untill I may have your leave for doing it my selfe; which I shall begg their procuring for mee, and your time, that it may bee with least interruption to you.

Were it fitt for mee to think I could bee owner of any thing that you could want, I should with pleasure tell you that all were at your command, as well as its master, Your obliged and most obedient servant, S. Pepys.

67 [MS. i. 90]. Mr Pepys to Dr Smith [3] [*Copy*].[4]

*April* 15, 1695.

Reverend Sir,—You may be surprized, but won't, I dare say, be offended that, at the instance of our excellent friend Dr Charlett [5] of Oxford, I come so soon to ask for another a favour it is so little a while since I troubled you for to my selfe. It is in behalfe of this young man, the bearer; one whose outside would not lead you to expect such an errand from him, his education alsoe bespeaking it as little, as having been bredd at Coventry in a trade not very apt to give any occasion for it.[6] But so it is, that by a strange bent of nature hee has spontaneously given himselfe up to the love of antiquitys and looking into records; Dr Charlett telling mee of severall catalogues of MSS. now before them at Oxford which they owe to his transcribing. And what after this can you think his present want to bee, and the only errand that has brought him up to London, and this the first time of his being here, but a curiosity only to see the inside of Sir John Cotton's

[1] Dr, afterwards Sir Hans, Sloane, Secretary of the Royal Society.
[2] Claude Fauchet (1529–1601), a famous French antiquary.
[3] Dr Thomas Smith, the nonjuring divine, was Keeper of the Cottonian Library.
[4] This letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 260.
[5] See note on p. 70 above.
[6] Humfrey Wanley, the famous palaeographer, at this time a young man of twenty-three, had been until 1694 a draper's apprentice at Coventry.

Library? Which pray let mee in Dr Charlet's name and my own begg you to indulge him an opportunity for, when it may bee with least trouble to your selfe. And to reconcile this curiosity of his a little the more to you, I have it to observe, that though it was his fortune to be disposed of by his friends to a trade, as I have told you, yet was it not, as I understand, without his having been first raised to an academical degree of Grammar-learning, so as books are not wholly strangers to him, and by consequence your favour to him will not want being understood, though it may of being enough acknowledged, either by him or mee. Who am, with all respect, Your most faithfull and most humble servant, [S. P.]

68 [MS. i. 91]. Mr Pepys to Mr Tanner[1] [*Copy*].

*Sunday, May* 5, 1695.

Sir,—I have had a cause in Parliament requiring such attendance on behalf of a friend all the latter part of its Session, as has hardly left me a thought at liberty to any other use. Not that I could lie all this while without looking over your late learned present to me. But it was with a head so otherwise filled as left me impatient for a second perusal. And this I began the very hour after the Prorogation; and as I advance, have perfect amends made me for the dissatisfaction I so long sustained from the want of it.

Your choice of the subject, with the pains and patience evidenced in your handling it, doe enough shew what the world may hope for of publick good from one so earlily fitted and disposed to the service of it as you are. Whereof as no man can be more sensible, so should none (did it come within my power) with more satisfaction improve it to your encouragement and benefit than myselfe. And pray spare not to challenge it of me whenever you shall have any cause to think me in a condition of making this good. In the meantime, I give you many thanks for the kindness of your present, though

[1] Thomas Tanner, afterwards Bishop of St Asaph. The letter is in acknowledgment of a copy of his *Notitia Monastica*, which had just appeared. It is printed, with an additional postscript, in *Academy*, xxxviii. 152.

I can't but at the same time chide you for the charge you put yourself to in the cloathing it.

I concurr entirely with you in the choice also of your method, it answering many more ends at once than any thing hitherto extant upon that subject; besides the many instructive remarks in your preface which are wholly your own, and some of them such as I could wish the age more worthy of.[1]

And now that you are thus entirely and happily delivered of your *Monastica*, and so far gone as you are sayd to be with your *Leland*,[2] what if I should put you in mind of a work I heretofore, I think, mentioned to you? I mean, that of continuing *Dr Heylin's Succession of our Princes, Nobles, and Bishops*.[3]

I ought not, I know, to take upon me the becoming a prompter to one who has already given so good proofs of his own judgment in the choice of his subjects. But when I consider the universal reception which this book has found among all dealers with English history, together with the affinity it has to the study you seem so peculiarly affected with; the little compass (comparatively) which the work of it appears to me to lye in; your knowledge of all the helps requisite towards it and acquaintance with the roads leading to those helps; and lastly, the little doubt to be made of the entertainment which this work, both for delight and use, must meet with in the world; I cannot but think it a matter in itselfe very desirable, the business of it specially sorted to your genius, and what, in a word, being well thought-on,

[1] The following passage occurs here erased: "In the mean time pursue but your own steps, and those which I hear you are further taking upon another subject, and mankind must be beholden to you, whatever you may be to it. Nor be solicitous about that neither. Forasmuch as the manners of mankind are (I take it) so near being at the worst, that I cannot doubt your living (whatever I may do) to see them mended, and with it virtue, industry, and real learning to find as good quarter in the world as sloth, licentiousness, and ignorance have done (and that not among seculars only) for the last 30 years or more of my observation."

[2] In 1693 Thomas Tanner had issued proposals for an edition of the works of John Leland the antiquary. He worked at it for many years, but Leland's writings were eventually published by Hearne.

[3] Dr Peter Heylyn, the biographer of Laud, had published in 1641 *A Help to English History*, containing a succession of kings, peers, baronets, and bishops

cannot want wherewith fully to recompense the time and industry requisite for the accomplishing it. Give me therefore the liberty of recommending seriously the thoughts of it to you; remaining with great truth, Your most assured friend and affectionate humble servant, S. Pepys.

I cannot but tell you that I am mighty fond of the industry of the bearer, Mr Wanly, and his virtuous applications of it, and wish them prosperous to him.

69 [MS. i. 92]. Mr Pepys to Dr Wallis[1] [*Copy*].

*York-Buildings, May* 16, 1695.

Reverend Sir,—You never placed a favour where it was received with more esteem and veneration than that which was lately handed to mee from you by my honoured friend Dr Charlett. Nor shall I neglect to place it, I mean, this present of your learned works,[2] where (as far as I can provide for the securing it) my acknowledgments shall bee as inseperable from your name as that shall bee from what I can think to leave most valuable in the world, my books; and which this addition of yours will render truly soe. I am, with all possible respect, duty, and gratitude, Most honoured Sir, Your most obliged, faithfull, and most obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

70 [MS. i. 93]. Dr Quadring[3] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*], with the Latter's Reply [*Copy*].

*Camb : Magd : Coll : May* 20, 1695.

Most honoured Sir,—I have at last sent you inclosed what you were pleased to desire of mee.[4] I hope you will pardon

[1] Dr John Wallis, the Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford.
[2] Wallis's collected mathematical works in three volumes were published 1693–9; his theological writings had been printed in a single volume in 1691.
[3] Dr Gabriel Quadring was Master of Magdalene.
[4] A transcript of the Cambridge Commemoration of Benefactors.

this delay; the Vicechancellor was at first unwilling to part with the booke out of his hands or to have itt transcribed till I assured him that itt was only for your private satisfaction. Hee was willing to lett Mr Holman,[1] our publick Register, write out what I desired, soe that you have this account from an authentick hand. Mr Holman is comeing to London. I desired him to waite upon you, and to know if you had any other commands to lay upon him or mee. I am just taking horse to goe out of towne, but hope (God willing) to retourne within a fortnight, and then I shall take itt for an honour and a happiness to heare that you have received and accepted of the inclosed account. I know your goodness will pardon mee if I have in anything mistaken your commands, for I heartily desire to shew my selfe, (Most honoured Sir) Your most humble and most obliged servant, GABR: QUADRING.

*June* 8, 1695.

REVEREND SIR,—The time you sett mee for expecting your return to Cambridge being out, I hope this will find you well arrived there; it's errand being to give you my most humble services, and acknowledgments of the extraordinary favour of your last, and the account it brought mee of what I desired of you relating to the University. I was not enough aware (I perceive) of the trouble that has attended it to you. For which I begg many pardons, and promise you my using more circumspection when (as it may happen) my curiosity shall next prompt mee to any like enquirys within your virge. Your returne to mee in this is most satisfactory, both for its ampleness and authority. On the score of which last I have every day been in hopes of seeing Mr Holman, that I might acknowledge to him his part of the favour done mee in the transcript. And what expence it may otherwise have occasioned you, lett mee begg you to find some way for my knowing that alsoe, that I may rest a debtor for nothing relating to it but what is beyond my power to repay, I mean, the frankness and fullnesse of your favour to mee in it. I am obliged alsoe to return Mr Vice-Chancellor my most humble thanks for his

[1] James Holman (or Halman), afterwards Master of Caius.

allowance in it, which I begg you at your convenience to present him with from mee, with a re-assurance of the simplicity and decency of the use I have in my particular reading to make of it. I am, with all sincerity and respect, Honoured Sir, Your most faithfull and obliged humble servant.

S. Pepys.

71 [MS. i. 94]. Mr Pepys to Sir James Houblon [1] [*Copy*].

*July* 9, 1695.

Dear Sir,—Length is no commendation to a letter from him that has nothing to doe to you that have a great deal. Therefore in brief, I received great pleasure from the safenesse of your passage and arrivall at Antwerp; owning no less thanks to you for my share in the knowledge you gave your friends of it. Wee are all well here, as wee pray you may ever bee. The town yields no news; the season emptying it of men as the Bank (wee thank you) does of money, some gold only excepted, and that very dear bought. You won't think it newes (I know) that Mr Willmer sings at this day upon the hustings to my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, the very same song (the burthen you may perhaps remember, Liberty, Priviledge, and Property) that themselves joyn'd-in with him to Sir John Moore [2] but few years since. But I have something just come to my hand that I can't but take for newes. I am sure 'tis so to mee, notwithstanding all I pretend-to of knowledge in the history of the Navy of England, and this I enclose you, with a hearty committment of you to God's protection, and rest, Your most faythfull and obedient servant, S. Pepys.

To Sir James Houblon, enclosing the printed account presented by the Navy-Officers to the King, at his last going-over to Holland, of the ships then in building, etc., since the warr.

[1] See note on p. 69 above.

[2] Sir John Moore was a wealthy London merchant who had been Lord Mayor in 1681. He was an active supporter of the Tory party, and appears as Ziloah in Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel.*

72 [MS. i. 96]. Mr Pepys to Mrs Steward [*Copy*].[1]

*September* 20, 1695.

Madame,—You are very good, and pray continue soe by as many kind messages as you can and notices of your health; such as the bearer brings you back my thanks for, and a thousand services.

Here's a sad town, and God knows when it will be better, our losses at sea making a very melancholy Exchange at both ends on't; the gentlewomen of this (to say nothing of the other) sitting with their arms across, without a yard of muslin in their shops to sell, while the ladys (they tell mee) walk pensively by, without a shilling (I mean, a good one) in their pockets to buy.

One thing there is indeed that comes in my way as a Governor [2] to hear of which carries a little mirth with it, and indeed is very odd. Two wealthy citizens are lately dead, and left their estates, one to a Blewcoat-Boy and the other to a Blew-Coat-Girl in Christ's Hospital. The extraordinariness of which has ledd some of the Magistrates to carry it on to a match, which is ended in a publick wedding, he in his habit of blew-satin, ledd by 2 of the Girls, and shee in blew, with an apron green and petticoat yellow, all of sarcenett, ledd by 2 of the Boys of the House, through Cheapside to Guild-hall-Chappell, where they were married by the Dean of Paul's, and shee given by my Lord Mayor. The wedding-dinner it seems was kept in the Hospitall Hall. But the great day will be to morrow, St Matthew's; when (so much I am sure of) my Lord Mayor will be there, and my selfe also have had a tickett of invitation thither, and if I can will be there too. But for the other particulars must referr you to my next; and so, Dear Madame, Adieu.

Bow-Bells are just now ringing Ding-Dong; but whether for this I cannot presently [3] tell; but 'tis likely enough. For

[1] Endorsed, a letter "of compliment and banter." It is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 261.

[2] *I.e.* of Christ's Hospital.

[3] *I.e.* at present.

I have known them ring upon much foolisher occasions; and lately too.

73 [MS. i. 97]. Mr Pepys to Sir Peter Pett[1] [*Copy*].[2]

*November* 16, 1695.

Sir,—'Tis a great while indeed since I have had the satisfaction of waiting on you. But besides your knowledge of old how peccant a man I generally am upon that head, I can truly tell you that what with finding-out work for my selfe, and work finding-out me, I have hardly let loose one thought beyond my owne threshold since I last saw you. But I thank you, you have awakened me, and (with it) given me encouragement to hope you won't be long unseen by me, but on the contrary, resume your old method of kindnesse to me by giving me a noone here.[3]

I must own to you that, as regardfull as I was and ought to be of my old Tutor, Sir Samuel Morland,[4] in making my selfe master of his book from the instant of my first hearing of it, and so putt my selfe into a condition of reading it when next at leisure and in a temper of mind suited to the argument of it, yet to this hour I have not done it. Nor am now sorry for it, since you have so happily offered me an opportunity of doing it by proxy, and the proxy of the world that I could most have wished for. Not barely from the deference always due to your palate; but for that by it I am sure of having some share of the best of it without any pains, and direction what I may expect from the remainder. I send it therefore to you as desired, that when you have had your satisfaction from it you may be so good as to communicate part of it to me; when I alsoe shall give you what I may possibly recollect upon your demands touching Mr Boyle.[5]

For your late errand to me by the poor man, I hope I sent

[1] See note on p. 52 above.
[2] In John Jackson's hand.
[3] Probably an invitation to dinner.
[4] Perhaps *The Urim of Conscience*, written by Sir Samuel Morland "in blindness and retirement," and published in 1695, the year of his death.
[5] See note on p. 48 above.

him you back with some degree of content, and not without hopes of more. I am, Your most faithfull, humble servant,

S. Pepys.

74 [MS. i. 101]. Mrs Pearse[1] to Mr Pepys [*Dictated*].

*Pell Mell, Aprill* 4, 1696.

Sir,—Haveing disposed of my house in the Pell Mell to Mr Chase (for which I named you one of my trustees) I intreate you will please to seale the assignment thereof, which I have allready donne. I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

Elizabeth Pearse.

75 [MS. i. 102]. Sir Peter Pett[2] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

[*May* 3, 1696.]

Sir,—I send you this by Mr Izzard the journey-man printer, and herewith returne you your life of Hales.[3] In a letter I sent you this week by the penny post, I did congratulate to you the usefulnes of your motto; and when you are pleased to favoure me with a line or two next, I entreate you to referre me to the book in Cicero where you found the treasure of it. I thinke I read it in some of his bookes many yeares ago, and do thinke it was in his Tusculan Questions, but am not sure of it. And if so great a master of Learning as the Earle of Pembroke,[4] by his carping at the Latinity of it, shewd his ignorance of its being in Cicero, my not knowing the particular place in Tully where it is may be excused.

I told you in my last that I have a memorable copy of one of Hale's records ready for your entertainment. But I have here enclosed a copy of one more memorable, and next to the

[1] Probably the widow of Dr James Pearse, Chirurgeon-General of the Navy. She appears in the *Diary* as "la belle Pierce," one of its author's early flames.

[2] See note on p. 52 above.

[3] Probably Gilbert Burnet's *Life of Sir Matthew Hale*, published 1682.

[4] William Herbert, the third Earl, supposed, on insufficient evidence, to be the W. H. of Shakespeare's sonnets.

oath of the Athenians for the support of theire republic (the which I am ready to shew you) this Oath of the Roman Senators is the greatest curiosity my collections and papers can boast of. I was many yeares in vaine trying at several times to finde it among the civil law writers (and who are the best treasurers of the Roman antiquitys), and at last found it in a folio of Philip Camerarius, a German, and famous civilian and most critical philologer and historian, translated into English by Mr Mole, a famous man of King's College in Cambridge,[1] and so the authenticness of this Oath is passt doubt.

You having obliged me with your commands to give you the facts of oure oathes in England, and wherby I have had occasion to thinke much of the perjurys of our countrimen, I have consoled my selfe with the thoughts of the last saying in this Roman Oath, viz., *In perjurio vero ne deprehendar unquam*; which shews that there was a time in the world, before the introduction of Christianity, when men dreaded perjury. But alas! the motto of too many of the pseudo-Christians whome we dayly see, is, But lett me never be found out of perjury. And that this should be the national sinne of England more than of any other countrys, may well make us say, *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*, etc. I can shew you a pamphlet of about 6 sheets not long ago writt by a learned man and entituled, *Perjury the National Sinne, i.e.* in England; and the author proves his point too well, insomuch that he shews himselfe perjured too. But enuf of this. I loving now and then to recreate my thoughts with the examples of men famous for the *pietas in patriam*, do sometimes thinke of that famous patriot John De Witt. And such, a man may justifiably call him even in print, sheltered by the authority of Sir William Temple in his much applauded Observations about Holland.[2] I seldome thinke of him too without thinking of the excellent picture of him that hangs in youre study, and which you told me was given you by Sir James

[1] Philip Camerarius, *The First Century of his Historical Meditations*, as translated from Latin into English by John Molle in 1621.

[2] *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, published by Sir William Temple in 1672.

Houblon,[1] and who by his having had the picture of John De Witt I suppose hath been more than ordinarily inquisitive into his character. And that I have been so too, I shall lett you know that a Dutch merchant who knew him, one Mr Weghmans, now living at Lambeth, hath assured me that he was a downe right ranke predestinarian Calvinist, and not in the least tincturd with the tenets of Arminianisme though ownd by all of the Lovestein faction.[2] And though I my selfe am an Arminian, I however thinke it a commendable thing in De Witt to professe the tenets he did, supposing that he followd the last dictates of his practical understanding in so doing, as in charity we are bound to believe he did. For De Witt by such profession shewd he did not distort religion from its native use, to serve any turne of popularity in a party. But there is another momentous thing fitt for the consideration of your selfe or Sir James Houblon or of my selfe or any other enquirer into the character of De Witt, and that is this. I dining at Bishop Barlow's [3] in Oxford about 10 yeares ago, and De Witt's picture as graven hanging in his dining roome, Dr Wallis [4] coming after dinner to visit the Bishop and casting his ey on that sculpture of De Witt, he sayd he should have a great honoure for the character of De Witt but for one action of which he pronounced him guilty, namely, the contriving of the burning of London. Dr Wallis being the greatest master of Algebra that perhaps ever lived, and giving his judgment in that matter so positively as he did, I had the curiosity a few yeares ago to engage a famous Doctor of Oxford, his and my intimate friend, to note downe from his mouth his words and reasons at large relating to that his judgment. And I here offer it to your consideration that if you shall thinke fitt to engage Sir James Houblon to meet me at youre house any afternoon about 3 a clock, I will attend you both there with Dr Wallis his words and reasons so noted

[1] See note on p. 69 above.

[2] From the date of the imprisonment of Jacob de Witt and his five companions in the Castle of Loevestein by William II in 1650, their party was known as the Loevestein faction (*Cambridge Modern History*, v. 138).

[3] Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln.

[4] See note on p. 107 above.

downe, and we may then take out oure scales and weigh the merits of so great an affirmation. Sir James I know is your intimate friend, and I know him to be likewise a very acute man on the conversation I had twice or thrice with him in the days of yore in the company of Sir William Petty and John Grant.[1] Sir James Houblon being an Alderman of London, may perhaps thinke it worth his while to have Dr Wallis his aforesaid affirmation fairly notifyd and discussd.

In the next place I shall tell you, on the occasion of my having formerly requested you to recollect your memory about Mr Boyle's [2] having imparted to you any of his notions about the advancement of oure shipping or navigation, that Mr John Daniel, a very ingenious young artist in naval architecture, hath lately acquainted me that Mr Boyle did often engage him to come and discourse with him about the building of oure English shipps, and that Mr Boyle having a true notion of my brother's [3] way of building by horizontal lines, did put Mr Daniel on the drawing a draught of a first-rate, and on the making therin the horizontal lines and rising lines to cutt each other at right angles. For Mr Boyle declared that by both those sorts of lines so cutting each other, a way would be *ipso facto* found to prove the true body of a ship. If you please to see this draught with these lines so cutting each other at right angles, I shall engage the artist to send it to my chamber, and to meet you there any afternoon about 3 a clock to explaine the curiositys of his draught to you. I am sorry to thinke that no man of the Royal Society hath talents to go as farre as Mr Boyle did, even in this one thing, for the good of naval architecture. The reason why I thinke so is, because I gave Sir Christopher Wren many yeares ago a draught of an old fashion shipp, and another of the frigat fashion, that he might see the difference of them; and he afterward desiring me to bring him into the company of some

[1] The *Natural and Political Observations . . . made upon the Bills of Mortality*, published by John Graunt the statistician in 1662, laid the foundation of the science which Sir William Petty afterwards called "Political Arithmetic."

[2] See note on p. 48 above.

[3] Sir Phineas Pett, the master-shipwright at Chatham.

excellent mathematical shipwright who might resolve many of his questions, I brought him for that purpose into the company of Captain Will[iam] Castle, the famous loyal Tory and who was an expert mathematician, and who resolvd all the questions Sir Christopher put to him: but all in vaine as to any illustration of the affairs of naval architecture that Sir Christopher could effect. And so *manum de tabulâ*.[1] I am, Sir, Yours most entirely, [P. P.]

I can tell you of another memoire of De Witt that I my selfe have found out, as it were, by Algebra, namely, his being forced to effect the burning of our shipps at Chattam; and can give you a relation from the mouth of Sir Nicholas Armorer[2] how De Witt, to oblige King Charles the 2d did, in concert with Sir Nicholas, effect the sending over Baxter, Okey, and Corbet to be hangd here,[3] though yett the seising of those regicides in Holland was against the laws of the country.

76 [MS. i. 103]. An Extract of a Letter of the 3rd of May, 1696, from Sir Peter Pett[4] to Mr Pepys touching the Oath of a Senator of Rome.

I told you in my last that I have a [memorable] copy . . . translated into English by Mr Mole, a famous man of King's College in Cambridge; and so the authentickness of this Oath is past doubt. [*Extracted from the preceding letter, see p. 112 f above.*]

The Oath of a Roman Senator.

Juro per Jovem Olympium et Consiliarium, et per Vestam Consultricem, et per Jovem Maritalem, et Junonem Maritalem, et Minervam Providam, et Victoriam, et Venerem, et Amicitiam, et Concordiam, et Jus atque Fas, et Bonam Fortunam,

[1] "Take your hand from the picture"—a proverbial expression for "Hold! enough!"

[2] Sir Nicholas Armourer is several times mentioned in Pepys's *Admiralty Journal* in connexion with a contract for building ships in Ireland.

[3] On the betrayal of John Barkstead, John Okey, and Miles Corbet, the regicides, see *D.N.B.*, xlii. 80.

[4] See note on p. 52 above.

aliosque universos Deos ac Deas, me Sententiam velle dicere secundum Leges et Consulta a Civitate approbata, et secundum Decreta Romanorum et Leges quibus Respublica nostra administratur, in respectu utilitatis Patriæ pro viribus meis, non aliter quam is fecit, qui Senator fuit laudatissimus Patriæ suæ vel Romanæ vel Graecæ Civitatis. Neque gratiæ, neque odio, neque muneribus, patiar servire judicium consultumve meum. Neque privato addicam Sententiam meam, neque me ulli parti aut homini adjungam, sed tantum communi utilitati, aucturus pro viribus Rempublicam, ita ut Dii et boni viri volunt. Mihi quidem sancte jurato bene sit, et Dii atque Dæmones faveant itemque meis omnibus cum amicis tum universo generi et familiæ. In perjurio vero ne deprehendar unquam.

That is to say,

I swear by Jupiter Olympian and Counsellor, and by Vesta the Consultress, and by Jupiter the Marier, and by Juno the Maried, and by Minerva the Provident, and Victory, and Venus, and Amity, and Concord, and Right and Equity, and Good Fortune, and by all the other Gods and Goddesses: That I have resolved to speak my Opinion according to the Laws and Ordinances approved by the City and according to the Decrees and Edicts of the Romans by the which our Commonwealth is governed, having respect to the profit of my Countrey with all my power, no otherwise than such a one has done,[1] being an honourable Counsellor to his Countrey, of a City Roman or Grecian. I shall not suffer that my Judgment or Counsel shall be subject to Favour, Hatred, Guifts, or Presents. I shall not frame my Sentence to the will of any particular, nor joyne myselfe to any Man or Party, but only to the Common Benefit; that I may to the uttermost of my power encrease the Commonwealth, as the Gods and Good Men wish and mean. This Solemn Oath turn to my good, and the Gods and Demi-gods be favorable

[1] *Note on the MS.*: "He named then such a Græcian or Roman as he thought good, and of the most famous in ancient times for Prudence and Integrity."

to me and to all mine, my Friends, my whole Race and Family. But never let me be found perjured.

Taken-out of P. Camerarius, Councellor to the State of Noremberg, his Meditations and Observations Historicall, etc.—Book 2. Chap. 13th.[1]

77 [MS. i. 104]. Mr Gibson's Memorial for the King, October 5th, 1693; Containing Remarks upon the Present State of the Navy, and by him left with me (in his own Hand-writing) for my Perusal, May 28th, 1696.

For the King.

Great Sir,—The universal complaint of your City of London, and subjects in general, of their great losses at sea by captures of their ships and merchandise by the French, and the unsuccessful management of your Navy (but at la Hogue), with the many ships of war of your Majesty taken and stranded, as well since the reduction of Ireland as before, as not to be able to secure trade, keep down or hinder the growth of the naval strength of France, even with the help of the Dutch, calls for your Majesty's speedy resolution to regulate, by a through change in your Admiralty, Navy, Victualling, and Sick and Wounded-Offices the diseases generally arising,

1. By putting (for the most part) gentlemen into those Offices wholly unacquainted with your naval affaires, and unable to call their under-officers to account for the mismenagement of their time, money, or stores put into their hands; Insomuch as your ships (for the most part) do not half the service they can and ought to doe, to secure trade and annoy the French.

2.—That all nations who were ever great by sea and have since lost it, came principally from putting the navy into the hands of their gentry (not bred tarpawlins), witness Spain,

[1] Book i. c. 32, in the edition of 1658, where the punctuation is different.

Portugal, etc., and may more fully be seen in Sir William Monson's account of the errors in Queen Elizabeth's several naval expeditions, and since in your own reign, compared with that of the Long Parliament in 1652.

3.—That of all your flagg-officers by sea, only Sir Cloudesly Shovell [1] have your people's character of being fitly qualified for it.

4.—That as the seamen appeared universally hearty for your Majesty at your accession to this Kingdom, so as no one commander was able or durst attempt to carry his shipp to King James, although several of them (noe doubt) was willing; yet now lie under discouragement for want of their deserved preferment, pay, plunder, accommodation aboard, —seldom lying dry in winter,—good and fit diet aboard and ashoar in the hospitals, besides their being kept as prisoners in other ships while their own are cleaning, without hope of going ashoar until they are past cure. They also being frequently turned over from ship to ship, while their captains (it's to be feared) make advantage of their tickets, or by ill usage force them to forfeit all their pay by running away; and that other evil of keeping all your ships of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd rate unfit to keep sea all winter in pay, to the great discouragement of your seamen (hindred thereby from getting their bread otherwise, and at the same time) forced to run in debt for want of their pay timelily to buy food for themselves and familys the little time they happen to be at home; to the infeebling their spirits as well as bodies.

5.—That this evil has put a dread upon your people that the charge of your Navy is too great for them to bear, and a fear that the Confederacy will end before the naval power of the French is brought to a ballance of our naval strength without the Dutch; Although it's the opinion of several of your subjects that the situation of England and Ireland may by a prudent management maintain a perpetual war

[1] On the distinguished career of Sir Clowdisley Shovell, see *D.N.B.*, lii. 159. He went to sea with Sir Christopher Myngs when he was fourteen years of age.

against France, and trade as we please, with little hazard, without the help of any of the Confederates, to the satisfaction of your people.

6.—That the many shipps of warr lost in your reign, as well as not making a true use of the late victory at la Hogue, and the great hazard of your Navy by being too near the Edystone in a storm, as well as loss of severall of your ships at Plymouth two years past, arose principally for want of seamanship; so as that alone demonstrates that most of your flagg-officers and sea-commanders were not so throughly acquainted with maritime affaires as they ought.

7.—That the method of trying commanders at sea by a court-martial of themselves, has occasioned most of their faults of the loss of your Majesty's ships, by captures, stranding, and other miscarriages, to have been slightly past over.

8.—That by putting gentlemen, not bred tarpawlins, in commission into your Navy has brought duelling into your fleet, to discourage seamen from seeking to be commanders in your shipps.

9.—That swearing, drinking, and all manner of debauchery, to a scandal, is too common in your Navy; which proves the parent of great sickness and mortality, as well to your Majesty's great charge ashore for their cure, and for vessels to press others in lieu; occasioning thousands of your seamen to do you little service, by their going two, three, or more times ashoar in a year for cure.

10.—That these practices are lookt upon by all your loyal subjects as a design to alienate the affection of your seamen from your Government; who, notwithstanding all these discouragements, are rarely found (but upon great necessity) to take part with the French.

11.—That men reputed Papists in the late reign, and generally believed not to be hearty to your Government, have been put into commission of your Navy by sea and land. This it is has raised a suspicion among your people that putting gentlemen into those posts has been by money. And this evil have revived several obsolete practices in your Navy,

as commanders having many servants, if not dead-pays,[1] making profit upon their under-officers, and by it engaged to sign and own their extravagant accounts and the tickets of run-aways, etc., to reimburse themselves.

12.—That the advantage of the situation of England and Ireland for ports, breeding seamen, advantage for trade, etc., are all rendered useless to your people.

*By your Commissioners for the Admiralty.*

1.—In their putting men into employment who do not understand the duty of their place.

2.—By their not fitting-up all your smaller 3rd rate ships and under, to the best advantage for sayling; being generally over-built, over-gunned, over-masted afore; built too broad aloft and too narrow below; and their main breadth to be at the luff, not as now at or near the main-mast.

3.—By their sending foul ships to cruise and on convoys.

4.—By their hiring merchant ships for their force, not quality of sayling.

5.—By their not having any regard to keep within the estimate for any service performed.

6.—By their not giving effectual order for ships to doe service at once; but alter their stations too oft, to no purpose.

7.—By their not regulating the tryals of offending commanders, by which they too oft acquit themselves; insomuch as their crimes grow intollerable.

8.—By their not having ports enough to cleane ships at; neglecting Kinsale, Cork, Milford, Guernsey, and Harwich.

9.—By not having their commanders' sea-journals abstracted all your reigne, and consequently giving commanders instructions and not seeing (but when a complaint come) how they perform them.

[1] The principle of drawing pay for non-existent persons was openly adopted in the Navy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On this question see Hollond's *Discourses* (Navy Records Society's Publications, vol. vii.), pp. 25, 140.

*Navy-Board.*

1.—For that several of them are in confederacy; crying-up one another's parts where there is no ground for it.

2.—Were great Jacobites in the late reigne.

3.—And are reported to have got estates in your Majesty's reigne; and alsoe some of their under-clerks.

*Victualling.*

1.—By not making the bisket for Channel-victualling so good as injoined by the rules of the Navy, but coarser[1] than ground-corne from the mill.

2.—By their not brewing their beer so strong as by the rules they ought, nor (it's feared) give it its due boiling, and brewing with wormwood, broom, and oft-times bad hops. This makes it difficult to keep their beer-cask sweet.

3.—By their not issuing brandy for beer (as formerly) for your seamen at the West-Indies; but of late years issue rumm in lieu; of which sort there is a great difference. Since which alteration a great mortality have been among your seamen in your ships at those parts.

4.—By their not issuing fresh beef to seamen in your Majesty's ships while in port refitting; since it may be done without any encrease of charge to your Majesty.

5.—By their not issuing whole but dust-oatmeal in lieu of fish; since it may be done for the value fish is rated at, after the rate of 8*d.* a man a day, the allowed price for victualling your Navy; since one sort may but the other cannot keep from the mite at the West-Indies.

6.—By want of order to prohibit sending beef-suet instead of raisins or currans to mix with their flower for puddings; since it's the parent of the scurvy, and cost your Majesty treble that saving to cure them ashore.

7.—That order be given to prohibit seamen's having any more brewis on beef-days (being what is done to all ships goes to East-India), and a quart of pease a man each week, the

[1] MS. "courser."

value of three half-pence, be allowed in lieu: Which will trebly be saved to your Majesty by the healthiness of your seamen.

8.—That order be given to pay each seaman 2*d.* a man a day (instead of three halfe-pence now payed) for fitting six to four men's allowance of dry provisions only. And 2*d.* a man a day (instead of three half-pence now payd) for their beer when they drink water; being what was heretofore allowed them in the Long Parliament's time, and does not exceed the allowance of 8*d.* a man a day. Which being constantly payd monthly, will not be interpreted by the seamen as a grievance for them to goe to short allowance of victualls, or to drink water, when your service require it, and gain your Majesty great love among the seamen; for so inconsiderable a summe as two or three thousand pounds a year now saved to your Majesty out of your seamen's diet.

9.—And that your Majesty will please to direct that what summes shall for time to come be appointed for victualling your Navy be to be payd in course.[1]

*Sick and Wounded.*

1.—By your Majesty's ordering a true settlement of cureing seamen by Dr Lower's [2] method, and not (as now) let them lye dispersed under cure in lewd ale-houses; or by the method in their hospitals now practised by them.

2.—By their not making-up their Agent's account regularly; but paying away your money as merchants, not as your Majesty's Commissioners.

3.—And that the medicines expended in your ships be hereafter of your Majesty's providing; that the seamen may not dye for want of good medicines and a sufficient quantity; their surgeons esteeming what they give to seamen now (although but little, and none of the best) as if it were out of their own pockets.

[1] The "course of the Navy" was a technical expression for the regular order in which bills were to be paid. It is frequently referred to in Pepys's *Admiralty Journal*.

[2] See note on p. 32 above.

This being the disease, I humbly recommend to your Majesty the remedy.

1.—By your Majesty's vacating the Commission constituting the present Commissioners of the Admiralty, and appoint a new one to be by a Chair-man of one of your nobility, for the honour of your Council and easier access to your person, and joyne him with 6 merchants that have been abroad in Italy, Turkey, the East or West-Indies, of estates and knowne affection to your Majesty. For (as when God Almighty intended to save Moses, He found out a way for his own mother to be his nurse, so) I cannot think of a better way to preserve the reputation of your armes by sea, and secure your subjects in their ships and merchandize out and home, and oblige your people to contribute freely to support your Government, than this.

2.—That the employment of lieutenants in your shipps be vacated, and the right of succession to a command at sea be from a midshipman by seniority to the master's mate and master. This will encourage all chief officers and masters of merchant ships to come voluntarily into your sea-service as midship-men, master's mates, and masters; and revive the drooping spirits of your seamen, and prevent stranding and capture of many ships [which] will otherwise inevitably be frequently lost, as by sad experience have too often fallen-out in your Majesty's reign. And your seamen are generally observed to be less besotted to the late King than many of your loose gentry.

3.—And that your Majesty will please to give your orders to alter the present method of letting your sea-surgeons provide (as now they do) their own medicines; but that it be done by a magazine-chest from Apothecarys' Hall, of such sorts of medicines for each shipp as shall be settled by Surgeons' Hall, compared with the present practice.

4.—And that the offenses of all your commission-officers at sea be hereafter tryed by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer.

5.—And that your Majesty appoint one to examine your commanders' sea-journals, for your Majesty's seeing how each

of them performe their Instructions; never yet done all your reigne, although of absolute necessity to helpe to restore the lost discipline of your Navy.

6.—And that your Majesty will please to take such other measures for the better regulating your Navy, Victualling, and Sick and Wounded-Offices, as your Majesty shall from time to time receive from your new Commissioners of the Admiralty, or as your Majesty shall please to order, on any other of the heads now before you.

This way your Majesty may put your Navy into such a posture as that twenty thousand men, duely payd, may bring so many ships into your shipwrights' hands in a yeare for repaires, by damage received in fight from the French, as that thirty thousand men cannot effectually mann; whereas now your Majesty is obliged (by the present method) to keep (in the hospitals, or by press-vessels, and by supernumerarys) little less than thirty-five thousand men in pay, for those of your shipps which now require thirty thousand men to mann. And this way twenty-eight thousand men will be found a sufficient number, by being all healthful and aboard.

[Note by Mr Pepys.]

Endorsed with his own hand, as on the back hereof;[1] Where note, that his proposal there mentioned was the same with that offered by me upon the subject of the victualling of the Navy to Sir William Coventry by letter of the 1st of January 1665–6,[2] and now by him to the Commissioners of

[1] The endorsement is as follows: "Mr Gibson's Memorial for the King about the fleet, flagg-officers, Admiralty, Navy-Board, Victualling, and Sick and Wounded-Commissioners. Wrote at the command of Sir John Trenchard by Richard Gibson, who dwells in Colchester-street, near Great Tower-hill. A duplicate of this was delivered to his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury in March last, and by his Grace lodged at the Council-Board; and was the parent of my proposal. For your Lordship's private use." The Earl of Shrewsbury had been created a Duke in 1694. Sir John Trenchard was a Secretary of State.

[2] On Pepys's "New Year's Letter" to Sir William Coventry on the subject of the victualling, see *Diary*, January 1–3, 1665–6. It appears there that Mr Gibson had a share in the preparation of the document; on this see also December 1, 2, 7, 1665.

the Admiralty May 1st, 1695, as per his original thereof communicated to me this 28th of May, 1696.[1] S. P.

78 [MS. i. 105]. Mr William Longueville[2] to Mr Richard Topham [*Holograph*].

*June* 4, 1696.

Sir, —I have perused an indenture quadrupartite intended for your sealing about Merton in Surry, and the sale thereof to Mrs Susanna St John, and some other writings ready to bee ingross't touching the sale of Merton aforesaid; by all which I see that you and Mr Pepys the other trustee of Merton are like to bee secured in that you are desired to doe. For the purchase of two hundred a yeare is provided for by morgage of Merton for 2600*l.*, and by the assignment of a terme of 3000 yeares of lands in Edmonthorp,[3] which 200*l.* a yeare is to bee settled on the like trusts and for such estates as Merton was; and to bee without delay purchased. Wm. Longueville.

[Note on the back of the letter.]

Mr Midgley, a scrivener in Bread Street, on Saturday morning, 9 a clock at furthest.[4]

79 [MS. i. 106]. Lady Vavasour[5] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*June* 11, 1696.

Sir,—I have been desired by my niece Smith and her husband[6] to begg the favoure of you to meete them to morrow

[1] *Cf.* another memorial by Richard Gibson printed in Charnock, *Marine Architecture*, vol. i. p. lxxiv ff.

[2] On William Longueville the barrister, the friend of Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, see *D.N.B.*, xxxiv. 126. The endorsement of the letter explains that he was acting as counsel for Mr Topham, co-trustee with Pepys for the estate of Alderman Pepys of Merton Abbey.

[3] Edmondthorpe in Leicestershire, near Melton Mowbray.

[4] This note on the back of the letter, and the address, are in a different hand to the body of the letter and its signature. It looks as if the additions had been the work of an aged clerk.

[5] Probably Olivia, daughter of Bryan Stapleton of Myton, the second wife of Sir William Vavasour of Copmanthorpe, who had been killed at the siege of Copenhagen in 1658. The Richard Topham referred to in the text was her second husband.

[6] Edward, the heir of Sir Edward Smith of Edmondthorpe, married Olivia Pepys, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Pepys of Merton Abbey,

morninge at nine of the clock to seale the deeds for the sale of Merton Abbey, and securing the vallew in other lands (to be purchased neerer Edmondthorp). Mr Topham was to waite on you with a draught of the writinges before they were ingrossed, but not findinge you at your house, and his occasions not allowinge his doinge it againe (there beinge hast) he caryed it to a lawyer, to be satisfyed that it was as it ought to be for the intrest of my neece and her children, accordinge to the trust reposed in you (and Mr Topham); and havinge an asurance that it is done accordinge to the intention of the maryage settlement, he thought you would be satisfyed (as he is) and suffred the deedes to be perfected without givinge you trouble till all was ready. He received a summons yesterday, and was desired to give you notice of it; my nephew Smith beinge out of towne, could not so well come to you himself (as was fitt for him to have done) but depended on me or Mr Topham, who designed it this morning if some pressinge business had not drawne him another way, which occasions you the trouble of this hasty scrible from, Your most humble servante, Ol: Vavasour.

I finde I have overslipt the maine business of this letter, which is to informe you where you are intreated to meete, which is at a scrivenor's in Bread Streete whoes name is Midgley; there my neece and nephew wilbe themselves to aske your pardon for this request, and to acknowledg their obligation if you shall be pleaced to give your self so greate a trouble. If possible[1] they hope you wilbe there at nine a clock, because the deeds will take some time in readinge over.

The man's name is Mr Midgley, which I repeate because it's blotted.

Master of the Jewel Office to Charles II and James II. He was Samuel Pepys's cousin, and is several times referred to in the *Diary*.

[1] MS. "possibly."

80 [MS. i. 107]. Mr Thomas Tanner[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*All-Souls, Oxon., November* 6, 1696.

Honored Sir,—I must humbly beg your pardon for my long silence, which I desire you not to misconstrue as a neglect, but to excuse it as partly occasioned by the hurry I have of late been in, and partly by the want of news or business. The sense of this fault made me diffident to write to you about a matter of the greatest concern to my future fortunes, though at the same time I knew you could do me signal service therein. But the lesser my importunity was, the more generous your kindness; and your ready complyance with the first application of our worthy Master in order to promote my interest require[s] these my humblest and heartiest thanks. And the good success of your endeavours makes your favour and my obligations the greater, seing it was in great measure owing to your influences over Dr Lloyd.[2] He shewed himself during the whole menage of the election[3] very much my friend, not only with his vote but with his interest; and I hope you'l be pleased to let him know what gratefull resentments[4] I have of his kindness.

The unsettledness of the present posture of my affairs will not suffer me to trouble you with any more now, but I intend very shortly to let you know what I have been at work upon these two years, and for what reasons I cannot think of doing any thing to *Heylin's Introduction*.[5] So that at present I shall only crave leave to assure you that the honour of your acquaintance, your encouragement of my studies, and all your favours, particularly this last, shall be always owned with the utmost gratitude, duty, and respect, as becomes, Worthy Sir, Your most obliged humble servant,

Thom. Tanner.

[1] See note on p. 105 above.

[2] Probably Dr, afterwards Sir Nathaniel, Lloyd, a Fellow of All Souls; he was afterwards Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

[3] On November 2 Tanner had been elected a Fellow of All Souls.

[4] "Resentment" was in common use *c.* 1650–1750 in the sense of grateful appreciation of a service or kindness.

[5] See p. 106 above.

81 [MS. i. 108]. Mr Wright to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*][1] and the Latter's Reply [*Copy*].[2]

*November* 10, 1696.

Honoured Sir,—Colonel Scott (your prosecutor[3]) is again comed for England. When he arrived first he was in the habitt of a Dutch skipper, which disguised him very much. But now he has gott good cloathes and a perriwigg. He was att a freind's house of mine some few dayes past, and pretended he had gott his pardon for killing the coachman, but he tells me he does not beleive itt. This I thought good to acquaint you of, Because, Sir, I am, Your most humble servant,

Edward Wright.

[*Same day*].

Mr Wright, Sir,—I give you thanks for your information this morning, which I should be glad you could enlighten yourselfe further in, and particularly as to the pardon, and that you would do me the favour to communicate the same to me; who am, Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

S. Pepys.

82 [MS. i. 109]. Mr Wright to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[4]

*November* 12, 1696.

Honoured Sir,—I have done to learne as much as I can sinnce the other day. Colonel Scott about 9 weekes agoe came to England in seamens' habitt; he was not seene by any boddy I know till abou. 16 dayes agoe, and then he appeared in pretty good habitt and a bob wigg on, and pulled out a parchment with a broad seale to itt and said itt was his pardon, and

[1] This letter is inaccurately printed in Braybrooke, iv. 262.

[2] In John Jackson's hand.

[3] Colonel John Scott, the adventurer, who had been a principal witness against Pepys in 1679 (see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys*, pp. 237–9). In 1681 he had killed a hackney coachman and had been obliged to fly the kingdom.

[4] Printed, but with omissions and grammatical alterations, in Braybrooke, iv. 262.

desired that man to gett him a silver box made to putt itt in. But he never sence see him. I called this morneing att his house; he tells me that the Colonel was there yesterday but he was not att home. Whether it was a pardon or no [1] he cannot tell; Kings does not use to grant pardons before convictions unlesse itt be to noble men —to the Duke of Buckingham for killing my Lord Shrowsberry,[2] or the like this present King did to Colonel Beverage for killing Mr Danby, and to some other outlawes that he brought along with him. But the Colonel has allwayes been obnoxitious to him; when he was in Holland he ran away with his regiment's mony and hanged in effigie. Besides I have imployed a particular freind of mine to search the Hamper [3] Office and the Petty Bagg Office, where all pattents of that nature passes, and for sixteene tearmes past there has been noe such pattent past. I am informed that he lodges in Grayes Inn by 2 people that he has tould soe to. If I can any wayes further sarve your Honnour, noe person shall more faithfully doe itt than, Sir, Your most humble servant, EDWARD WRIGHT.

I had like to [have] omitted this one thinge: When he returned out of Holland againe he tould my freind he had a bill from the Bank of Amsterdam of 100*li.* uppon the Banke here and could not gett his mony. Hee is not a bitt altered, not as to his person and carridge.

83 [MS. i. 114]. DR CHARLETT [4] TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*.

*Un: Coll: November* 17, 1696.

SIR,—It is your fate for me to lose no opportunity of disturbing you, but indeed I will make no apology for writing by my good and our worthy common freind, Dr Lloyd.[5]

[1] MS. "know."

[2] The second Duke of Buckingham mortally wounded the Earl of Shrewsbury in a duel on January 16, 1668. Before the Earl's death, which did not take place until two months later, the King pardoned all the parties concerned in the duel without bringing them to trial (see Pepys's *Diary*, January 17 and February 5, 1667–8).

[3] *I.e.* Hanaper.

[4] See note on p. 70 above.

[5] See note on p. 128 above.

You so generously espoused the interests of Mr Tanner,[1] that you must of right acknowledge the good and zealous offices of the bearer in his behalf, and I cannot forbeare saying you must find an opportunity of speaking the same to the good Warden, for I had no argument so powerfull as your name with him, notwithstanding the persecution of all the freinds of 19 candidates could give him.

It was a great affliction to me that I could not serve the interests of Captain Hatton's son in law; indeed that gentleman acted with so much generous honor and with so much nice cæremony, that he writ to me that he would by no means pretend to prejudice the *interest of Mr Tanner*, and that he heartily wisht him successe, though he was not acquainted with his person. I must (and so does Mr Tanner) impute these respects to your favorable characters of him, and I am willing to be responsible that he shall ever very gratefully be your humble servant for them.

I cannot omitt affecting you with the concerns of another person, Mr Wanly,[2] whom you have so kindly espoused. The Curators of ou Library have, in opposition to some people, committed to his inspection the examination and digesting of our coyns and medalls, according to the paper of his composition I shewd you, and have ordered all the books on that subject now wanting, to be bought and placed there forthwith. He is likewise ordered to oversee all our MSS.; in these as well as in other things he has such a perfection that it makes me smile to see, at the same time that I cannot tell by what method he comes to the knowledge of them, though he lyes in my own house.

Mr Hudson's old Greek maritime geographers are almost printed,[3] and Mr Creech is very forward with his Justin Martyr Gr. Lat.[4]

I will conclude truly with an old complement, that here

[1] See p. 128 above.
[2] See note on p. 104 above.
[3] The first volume of John Hudson's *Geographiae veteris Scriptores Graeci minores* appeared in 1698.
[4] At the time of his death in 1700 Thomas Creech the translator was engaged upon an edition of Justin Martyr.

are several who have long desired to wait upon you at Oxford, none more than, Sir, Your very humble servant,

AR. CHARLETT.

A young gentleman the last week had a letter from me to Dr Gale,[1] but he has sent me word the coach was set upon at Tyburne, and that he was stript of all.

Dr Wallis's [2] two Greek musick books are almost finished.

## 84 [MS. i. 111]. MR GIBSON [3] TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*]. [4]

*Lambeth, November* 25, 1696.

HONORED SIR,—I here send you the index of the Catalogue, soe far as Bodley's Library is concerned. For your diversion, I have also enclosed a short account of the *Life of Sir Thomas Bodley*, and of the *Foundation and increase of his Library*. You may (if you please) keep them by you till called for.

The other day I mett with a Catalogue of the Clergy in the Archdeaconry of London, taken in the year 1563, with an account of each man's learning and abilities in short. Observing the strangeness of the characters, I run over the whole; and (as I went along) branched them under those general heads whereby their several abilities in learning are there expressed. It's a fancy I know you'l be pleased with; and therefore I make bold to give you this short view of the learning of those times:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Docti Latinè et Græcè iii | Mediocriter docti ii | Latinè per parum utcunque aliquid, pauca verba, etc., intellex. xlii | Indocti iv |
| Docti xii | Latinè docti ix | Latinè non docti xiii | |
| | Latinè mediocriter intell. xxxi | | |

If the London clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country-divines were?

[1] See note on p. 59 above. [2] See note on p. 107 above.

[3] Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, was at this time Librarian of Lambeth. The "Catalogue" is probably the one referred to on p. 98 above.

[4] Printed, but most inaccurately, in Braybrooke, iv. 263.

I beg your pardon for this trouble, and remain, Your obliged humble servant, EDM. GIBSON.

[Note by Pepys on the flyleaf of the letter, written in the hand of his nephew, John Jackson.]

Postscript to my Answer of the 26th [November].

I reserve for a piece of thanks by itselfe your most ingenious [1] note touching the character of our London-clergy in 1563; and indeed it ought to pass for an anecdote of the whole clergy of England so near the Reformation.

85 [MS. i. 112]. MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Wotton, December* 3, 1696.

I inquire not what you do or think but how you do, because I am perswaded we think much alike; I onely wish I could do so too, for I should then be allways doing well. I am not yet altogether idle, for as often as the lame leg, which hardly carryed me out of towne into the country, gives me leave (which I thank God it begins to do), I take a walke in the gardens and a little grove I am planting; for all the world else is *Deluge* (no man alive remembring such a season) and when I am confind, reade and scribbl, or build castles in the aer. To be serious, I have of late ben chewing-over some old stories, and among others the Reigne of *Lewes* the XIth and *Charles Duke* of *Burgundy*, written you know by *Philip* de *Comines* 200 yeares since.[2] And whilst I contemplate your and my condition (*sic parvis componere*) cannot but bemoane, pitty, and deplore the unhapynesse and misery of kings and princes (whilst either they are not born philosophers or philosophers kings) because they never take the counsel of such honest, wise, and worthy persons as was the author of those *Memoires*. If I were to be a prince's tutor, I would

[1] MS. "ingenuous"; but the words were frequently used for each other, especially in the seventeenth century.

[2] The death of Charles the Bold took place in 1477 and that of Louis XI in 1483. Philip de Comines wrote his memoirs between 1488 and 1493, so "200 years since" is within the mark.

cause my royal pupil to reade *Comenius* over once a yeare at least. Have you seene a little *anonymus* piece intitled, *Discours sur les Reflexions ou Sentences et Maximes Morales*? I am perswaded you'l not dislike it. The later part is written by a lady,[1] another Mrs *Astell*;[2] you will find it thick of very noble thoughts. Amongst our owne small books but no small authors, I am well pleased with *Nicolson's English Historical Library*;[3] and exceedingly glad to find our learned *Bishop of Worcester* putting his hand so strenuously to the vindication of what has ben the faith of as wise and *reasonable* men as any of our bold and late blasphemous pretenders, reproching the lazinesse of the many concerned who, whilst they should defend the antient doctrine, worry and tare in pieces one another. By the way, you'l find some passages of *Dr Locke* civily discussed, and with his deserved *eulogie*.[4]

Were you at Gr[esham] Coll[ege] on St *Andrew's* Day?[5] I have never before ben absent 'til this yeare. I thinke these five and thirty.

I feare to aske what progresse you make towards finishing your noble and most desierable work,[6] which none but you can pretend to. Will you never let us see it 'til perfect according to your scale? Remember the advise of a greate King that was such a philosopher as I spake of, *quicquid assequitur manus tua ut facias, pro facultate tua, fac.* The rest is what you and I have often reflected on. But why don't you give us a part or two, *ut ex pede Herculem*? Time flies

[1] The *Réflexions ou Sentences et maximes morales* of La Rochefoucauld was at first anonymous. It appeared in 1665, and the sixth edition was published in 1693, three years before the date of Evelyn's letter. The work included some maxims by the Marquise de Sablé.

[2] The first work of Mary Astell, a *Serious Proposal to Ladies*, appeared in 1694.

[3] The first part of his *English Historical Library* was published in 1696 by William Nicolson, afterwards in succession Bishop of Carlisle, Bishop of Derry, and Archbishop of Cashel.

[4] The reference is to the three pamphlets published in 1696 and 1697 by Stillingfleet in controversy with Locke upon the Doctrine of the Trinity, which he believed to have been attacked in the *Essay on the Human Understanding*.

[5] St Andrew's Day was, and still is, the day for the annual election-meeting of the Royal Society.

[6] Probably his History of the Navy.

a pace, my Friend. 'Tis evening with us; do not expect perfection on this side of life. If it be the very best, as I am sure it is, nothing can be better; no man out-throws you. And thus, partly *demonstrativè* and partly *objurgativè*, whilst I entertaine my selfe at least with my worthy Friend, I hinder him perhaps from finishing the worke I am solicitous to se published. God Almighty keepe you. I am, Sir, Your most faithfull, humble servant, J. Evelyn.

86 [MS. i. 113]. Sir Henry Shere[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*New Year's Day*, 1696–7.

Sir,—With my sollemn wishes of a happy New Year, I present you with a subject full as new; at least 'tis so to me, haveing never read or heard to this day of any attempt that way.[2] My retirement and infirmities—sequestering me from the conversation of men of Science and Phylosophy,—and my reading little through the weakness of my eyes, may perhaps render my stile improper, uncultivated, or obscure; from all which faults I beg you to purge it, to the end it may be dressed for the use of the majority who seldome peirce beyond the shell. When you have passed your censure on the whole, and performed that needfull office, if you can without inconvenience send me a faire correct coppy by your clerk-hand, it will be a very great favour, it being hard to find a proper scribe for such a work, and indeed as hard for me to pay him when he has done it. I am with more than my old devotion (because as we grow older our devotion grows stronger), Dear Sir, Your most humble, affectionate, and most faithfull servant, H. Shere.

[1] On Sir Henry Shere see note on p. 53 above.

[2] The endorsement shews that with this letter the writer enclosed "a new hypothesis of his touching the diurnal motion of the Earth." In 1698 he published *An Essay on the Certainty and Causes of the Earth's Motion*, for which this may have been a preliminary study.

87 [MS. i. 98]. Sir Littleton Powys[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Serjeants' Inne, January* 19, 1696[–7].

Sir,—An ingenious friend of mine in discourse yesterday evening did happen to mention Mr Molyneux's *Dioptrica Nova*[2] with great commendation; Whereupon I said that in a letter formerly sent to me by Mr Flamsted he had enumerated several gross errors in that book which were not meer errata of the Press; Upon which my friend did much importune me for a sight of that letter. You may please to remember that I gave it to you; I would not have the original from you, but (if you can find it) I desire you will please to order your servant to make an examined copy of it, that I may please my friend herein. I will to-morrow in the evening send this bearer for such copy, if it may then be ready, and you may please to send it in a paper sealed up. Sir, I ever am, Your most faithfull and most humble servant,

Littleton Powys.

Pray please to give my service to Madam Skinner.[3]

The Answer [*Copy*].[4]

*York-Buildings, January* 20, 1696–7.

Sir,—I send you with this the copy you demand, with many acknowledgments of your favour in being contented with that where you have much more right than myselfe to the original.

Time and times (which with me are 2 things) have together made almost a monk of me; it being many months since I have made one stepp over my threshold. Which I begg you to take in excuse for my so long omitting to wait on you, and

[1] Sir Littleton Powys was at this time a Baron of the Exchequer.

[2] William Molyneux had published his *Dioptrica Nova* in 1692. He was assisted in the work by John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal; and the proof-sheets were revised by Edmund Halley the astronomer. It long remained the standard work on optics.

[3] Mrs Mary Skynner was keeping house for Pepys in York Buildings.

[4] In John Jackson's hand.

may yet (possibly) a little longer; for I fear the next swallows and I must sett-out together. Not but that the Lady you so kindly enquire after (and who gives you her most humble services) will, I hope, bring you my compliments sooner, and ask you whether you can still afford an hour for Philosophy and a tansey [1] when the approaching Term shall bee over.

I do most respectfully kiss your hands, and with my old devotion and esteem remain, Honoured Sir, Your obedient and most affectionate servant, S. Pepys.

88 [MS. i. 99]. Mr Turner [2] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Eynesbury, March* 4, 1696[–7].

Sir,—Just now I had a messenger from my Lord Sandwich desiring that I should write to you and request in my Lord's name that you will please to graunt his Lordship leave to cut down the top of an hedge of yours in Brampton field [3] which hinders his Lordship's prospect. Sir, I should give you trouble to no purpose in describing the hedge and circumstances of what my Lord desires. I will say this only, which I am well assured will have creditt with you, Sir; I know that which my Lord desires of you will not be five shillinge damage to yourselfe or your tenant, and that which you would not deny to his Lordship though neither he nor his ancestors had bin known to you.

Sir, my Lord also requires me to request of you a word or two in answer to his Lordship's desire that upon your graunt he may trim 3 or 4 yards of the hedge in right season of the year. Sir, I am gladde of this service to my Lord, which gives me opportunity (without troubling you with a particular letter) to give you most humble thanks for the many great favours which in severall occasions you have most readily conferred on me, and shall be most gratefully remembred as

[1] A pudding or omelet flavoured with tansy juice.

[2] John Turner, B.D., had been rector of Eynesbury, near St Neots, a living in the gift of Lord Sandwich, from 1649 to 1689. He had been a Fellow of Magdalene, and chaplain to the first Earl.

[3] Samuel Pepys had inherited the family estate at Brampton, near Huntingdon, on his father's death in 1680. The Earl of Sandwich's seat of Hinchingbrooke was close by.

long as I live. Sir, you know I am an old man, but if God prolong my life till summer I shall have a mind once more to see London and wait on my friends there. Sir, I present my most reall and hearty service to you, and am, Sir, Your very much obliged and faithfull servant, JOHN TURNER.

Sir, if you write to me let it be by the St Neotts bagg.

89 [MS. i. 100]. MR PEPYS TO MR TURNER [*Copy*].[1]

*York-Buildings, March* 6, 1696[-7].

REVEREND SIR,—I begg you to answer for me to my honoured Lord, that I think no consent of mine needfull for his pleasuring himselfe with any part of what he has so absolute a right to the whole of; beseeching him in every other occasion, as well as this, to accept of this my most humble acknowledgment of it, and to use it accordingly.

Nor do I with less pleasure thank you, both for the favour of communicating to me this desire of his Lordship's and the notices accompanying it of your own good health; with the hopes I may entertain of waiting on you once more in this town before my infirmitys of age and Jacobitism compell me to leave it. Who am, with all my old respect, Sir, Your most faithfull and humble servant, S. PEPYS.

I have noted to my friend Mr Matthews at Huntingdon (who bears with the care of all my concerns in his neighbourhood) my submissions to my Lord's commands in this matter.

90 [MS. i. 114]. MR CHARLES PEPYS[2] TO MR SAMUEL PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Chatham, March* 15, 1696–7.

HONORED AND M[OST ?] RESPECTED COSEN PEPYS, SIR,—I thaut my brother woold have bin com by this tyme, or els I made bould to have sent to your honnor sooner. Goaing doune the River the fift daye of this Marche, wee hierd of

[1] In John Jackson's hand.

[2] Charles and Thomas Pepys were the sons of Thomas Pepys, Samuel's uncle. Charles was master-joiner at Chatham Dockyard, and his brother,

two [1] Russel galleys [2] that weare com in to the River. On[e] past by; wee knew her not. The other Russel galley wee borded. Capten Robeson was capten of [her] and was a board, and hee himself tould mee that my brother Thomas Pepys was on board of them til thaye came in to the co[a]st of barbados, but it hapened that thaye mett with bad wether whitche thay call a harrey caen, and it tooke away on[e] of thear masts by the syed, whear upon my brother desyerd and was sett on shoare at barbados. This Capten Robeson sed hee had 1000 lb. in money of my brother's, and as hee thout thear was copper and other marchandyses, hee sayed to the vallu of at least 2000 lb. more, and hee had all away out of Capten Robesson's Russel galley, and poot him self in a biggerer ship belonging to the barbados fleet and coms home with the fleet. I hartelley wishe my brother a safe A Ryval in to England, and to your honnor mutche hapeness in this world and in that whitch is to com; whitche is the daelley prayer of your honnor's poor kinsman and homble servant,

CHARLES PEPYS.

Sir, wee wear tould that his goods, espeshialley the copper, yeelded a better pryse in barbados than it wil doe hier in Ingland, whitche maye cause him to bee longuer comming, but I hoape hee wil com hom in the fleet.

91 [MS. i. 116]. MR EDWARD BROWNE [3] TO DR GALE [*Holograph: enclosed with the next letter*].

*Sundridge,*[4] *June* 4, 1697.

HONOURED DR GALE,—I have yours of the 1st instant and do humbly thank you for it. This Roll I think verily is an

who was returning home from Jamaica, was by trade a turner. The uncle and both cousins are frequently referred to in the *Diary*. The letter is addressed to "Scowayer [Squire] Pepys, in Yorke Streete, nier the Water Gaet." Orthography was not a strong point with Charles.

[1] MS. "too."

[2] This term has not been satisfactorily identified. "Russel" cannot stand for "Rochelle," as England and France were still at war. There was a woollen fabric called "russel" in which the galleys may have been trading.

[3] On Edward Browne the physician and traveller, the eldest son of the author of *Religio Medici*, see *D.N.B.*, vii. 42.

[4] Near Sevenoaks.

original one and I believe the onely one in England. The blazonry of the Arms, which are very many, is extreamly well done; the colours very fresh still and no where crackt or broken or worn out that I remember (for 'tis above a month since I saw it). The owner of it at this time is Mr Philip Sandford, Rector of Wrotham [1] (of which place you once wrote to me; we vulgarly call it Rootham). He wrote me word lately that he would be this way in a month's time ('tis ten long miles from hence to his house) and then would discourse the whole matter with me. This he wrote me on May 21st, so that in a fortnight more I shall know his mind. I will take care that he shall not over-value the thing; and that you shall see it with your eies before you venture upon it.

I perceive by your letter that it is not in the Cottonian Library; but it shall be there as soon as I can. I took it for granted that the B.[2] of whom I wrote in my last doth not care for it at a higher rate than 5 guinies. I wrote to him before he left London, and told him how the matter was; and if he can't look after his own buisness I know nobody els that is so deeply obliged to him as to do it for him. And besides I am not satisfied of the safety of this thing if it should have been gotten into his Library, for if you, Dr Gale, do not know the meaning of his ammassing together such a vast library as he has, I do. I have been alwaies, ever since I knew books, greatly troubled to see old MSS. exposed to danger or misused as I have seen 'em. Within 2 miles of me I cast my eie not long ago into a chandler's shop, where I saw 'em tearing an old parchment book to pieces to wrap up pennyworths of tobacco. I desired to see it, and found it to be a very fair *Higden*.[3] They had torn away all the Jewish history of it, but all the Christian part to the authour's death, and the continuation to 1376 (wherin is an account of Wicliff and the cloathes he ware in Oxford, in those very words which you

[1] Near Sevenoaks.

[2] This must be a reference to John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, 1691–1707, whose famous library was bought by George I in 1714 and given by him to the University of Cambridge. The scandalous stories about his methods of collecting, which are reflected in the text, are without foundation.

[3] Probably the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden the chronicler (*d.* 1364).

find in Mr Wood's *Antiquitates Oxon.*,[1] p. 186, part 1, quoted from a *nameless* MS. in the Bodleian) is there; and I have since had it bound near your house, and I think I gave order that you should see it. Store of such books is no sore. We have many of 'em in England, but not enow to condemn to such offices. I hear there are some old MSS. in Sir Thomas Seyliard's [2] study, and my Lord of Sussex's,[3] and have been offerd a welcom to go and see 'em; but I have not time yet. I do not very well like the printing of our English MSS. at Oxford; 'tis a dangerous thing, and may prove of fatal consequence to us some time or other, as the University of Heydelburg found to their cost, after they had set the Pope a longing for their MSS. upon their publishing a copy of 'em, and making such use of 'em as the divines and scholars there did against the Roman Church. And the University of Oxford presently lost the *Acts of the Inquisition against Arias Montanus* [4] and his Apology for himself, when once Dr James gave notice of it in his *Corruption of the Fathers*.[5] Let but Hezekiah be so weak as to shew all his treasure and magazins to the King of Babylon's ambassadors, though he do it without any bravery, yet the Babylonians will have it all in their own country if they can.[6] I and you will make a good use of this book of MSS., Dr Gale, but there be those who will not. But we are a foolish people, and I cannot help it. Thus I have been prating to you at my rate. You know me and will excuse me; 'tis hard to talk of books in few words. God keep us all. I am, Sir, Your faithfull and affectionate servant,

EDW. BROWNE.

[1] Anthony Wood's *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, 1674.

[2] Probably Sir Thomas Sylyard, Bart., of Delaware in Kent.

[3] Thomas Lennard, Lord Dacre, had been created Earl of Sussex in 1684. He had a seat at Chevening, near Sevenoaks.

[4] Benedict Arias Montanus, a learned Spanish theologian (1527–1598). His edition of the Polyglot Bible of 1568–73 led to charges of heresy being brought against him, from which, however, he succeeded in clearing himself.

[5] Thomas James, Bodley's Librarian 1602–1620, published in 1611 *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Counsels, and Fathers . . . by the Church of Rome.*

[6] 2 Kings xx. 12–13.

92 [MS. i. 115]. Dr Gale to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

[*June* 8?, 1697.]

Sir,—This inclosed [1] giveth you an account of Mr Brown's purposes in relation to the famous Roll.[2] When I know any thing further, you shall be acquainted with what I know. There is not yet come any pacquets from Holland by which we might understand what is done in reference to the Deanery of Yorke. A general presumption is gott into people's heads that it is given to a poor friend of yours,[3] one who professeth himself unworthy of it, and not at all raised in his mind about it. The Lord Chancellor [4] hath lost his feaver but is fallen into the jaundice. Sir Francis Pemberton is dangerously ill.[5]

I pray you give my service to all with you. I am, Sir, Your very humble servant, T. Gale.

John Gurney was porter of this schole.[6] He went to Trin[ity] Coll[ege] in Cambr[idge] at Easter last. He is a very deserving young man but wretchedly poor. I have spoke to some of the Governours of the Blew Hospital [7] for a Lady Ramsey's Exhibition of *3l. 6s. 8d.* or thereabouts for Gurny. I pray you joyne your interest to help us in this affaire.

93 [MS. i. 117]. Mr Joseph Hill [8] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rotterdam, November* $\frac{[16]}{26}$, 1697.

Sir,—Having the opportunity of my son in law, Mr Brennand, whom I have orderd to waite on you with my service, I shall write the more freely. I have hitherto waited

[1] See previous letter.

[2] The endorsement refers to "the famous Roll of King Edward 3rd to be purchased."

[3] Dr Thomas Gale was himself appointed to the Deanery of York in 1697, being admitted to the office on September 16.

[4] Lord Chancellor Somers.

[5] Sir Francis Pemberton, the ex-judge, who had defended the Seven Bishops, died on June 10, 1697. So this letter must have been written early in June, after June 4 and before June 10.

[6] St Paul's School, of which Dr Gale was high master.

[7] Christ's Hospital.

[8] Mr Joseph Hill, the Fellow of Magdalene who had once admonished Pepys for intoxication when a Cambridge undergraduate (see J. R. Tanner,

for the conclusion of the Treaty,[1] which is not yet compleated, the point of religion remaining under debate. Not for the refugees, who were never mentioned that I heare of, but for the places the French are to deliver up, in the Palatinate, etc., where they have introduced Popery. The articles being for the continuance of religion as 'tis at present exercised, at the instigation som think, or at least compliance, of the Popish princes of Germany; which the Protestants have protested against, alledging that religion is to be regulated in the Empire according to the establishment there, and is not to be infringed by forreign treaties; so that 6 weeks were further allowed for according this matter. And whereas the Protestants urged that Strasburg upon its surrender was promised them freedom of their religion, the French replyed, their King intended to make it a city of trade, and therfore might probably continue it, but would not be obliged thereto by the articles of peace. I suppose the former will be yielded, except the French designe to lay a foundation for a Catholick war, which is to be feared. Several of the plenipotentiaries are gon, others a going, though all the French continue till all is concluded. The States have resolved their militia the same as before the war, and 3000 Swizzers. The King's Dutch guards goe for England into that pay, besides the Earl of Portland['s] and other regiments, for whom I suppose the English will be disbanded. All generally dismiss a great part of their forces, except Savoy that augments his, which allarms the Italians and Geneva. Though we hope that city runs no risco;[2] not only because the French pressing Savoy's comprehension in the Treaty, the States, etc., brought in the Swizzers and their allies Geneva, but allso its being against the French interest Savoy should have it, their kingdom lying so open on that side. There is likely to be some stir about the demolishing Hunningen,[3] which Basel and the Protestant cantons press

*Mr Pepys*, p. 5), had been since 1678 minister of the English Presbyterian Church at Rotterdam.

[1] Of Ryswick.

[2] "Risco" is a variation of "risk" sometimes used in the seventeenth century.

[3] Huningen was a Rhine fortress just below Basel.

more than pleases France. And now that Lorreign is restored, the French indeavor to draw the Duke off from the Emperor's interest and marrying his daughter, by a match with the Duke of Orleans. I heare they designe to entertaine some of the best officers, English and Dutch, which the allies disband, and that Bufflers [1] proposes terms to that purpose, without the renouncing their religion. If this be true, and that they will keep so many reformado officers,[2] as some say, 2 or 3000 (which is worth enquiry), I think 'tis easy to conjecture they meane not to be long quiet. Not longer I should ghuess than the valetudinarious King of Spane lives, or our King William, to head the confederacy. For though no new alliance made now that I heare of, yet that which was last year signed for 5 future, continues in force for the 4 next.

A civil war begun in Poland, but the Prince of Conti [3] is not like to doe any thing of moment at present. Is therfore gon from Danzick, where Bart [4] hath seised in their Road 10 of their ships, and the city all the French effects there. Most think the Prince will winter in Denmark. If so, doubtles 'tis in hopes of forces from France in the spring, which cannot be sent him this winter. And though some think the French King would be rid of him, as being too popular, yet without doubt both in honour and interest he is very desirous to have him King of Poland, and will use all means for that end (as he hath assured the Turks) if it be apprehended feasible. And so far as I heare, none of the neighbouring princes dare assist Saxony, for feare of the French. We have the news of the Muscoviters obteining lately a victory over the Tartars. Their Cæsar or Czar [5] 'tis said winters in lodgings at Amsterdam. Who is better verst in the points of religion than we should imagine, and inclines more to the Reformed than the Romish, which I hope will tend to good for his rude and ignorant people. The Earle of Tallard [6] comes Embassador from France to

[1] Louis François, Duc de Boufflers, one of Louis XIV's marshals.
[2] *I.e.* officers retained in pay but without commands.
[3] A nephew of the great Condé, and himself a distinguished French general.
[4] The French naval hero, Jean Bart.
[5] Peter the Great.
[6] Camille d'Hostun, Comte de Tallard, the French Ambassador in London.

your Court; Monsieur Bon repos (now in Denmark) to the Hage, where Sir Joseph Williamson [1] stays for our King. This is enough to tire you, and therfore shall conclude with respects to your family, and assurance that if in any thing I can serve you here, you may on all occasions command, Your faithful servant, J. H.

94 [MS. i. 119]. Mr Joseph Hill [2] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*December* $\frac{[7]}{17}$, 1697.

Sir,—I have long waited for a fit occasion to present you with my thanks for the civilities you shewd to my self and daughter when lately at London. And having met with such an opportunity by Dr Harwood, I cannot forbeare my duty heerin. And the rather, because he will satisfy you concerning the proceedings here, which have ended now in a peace upon which many remarks are made, though the private articles that are most material be kept secret. I will not anticipate so good an intelligencer, and therfore pass on to private affairs, enquiring what health you have, for I left you valetudinarious, and how you goe on with your great work of your Naval History. If I can contribute any thing to your assistance by any books I have or can procure, I pray you entreat not for it but command it freely. I should solemnly beg the good Lady's excuse that my daughter calld not to take her along for Holland, but that you would smile if you thought me serious. My daughter is returning to you with her husband, Mr Brennand of Gray's Inn, who can make her apology better than I can write it. My service to her in the intrim, and your cosen, whom I had thought I should have seene here before this time. Which is all needful at present from, Sir, Your old friend and faithful servant, J. H.

[1] Sir Joseph Williamson was one of the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Nimeguen, and he stayed on at the Hague after the Treaty of Ryswick was signed.

[2] See note on p. 142 above.

95 [MS. i. 118]. Mr Pepys to Mrs Vernon [*Holograph*].

*Wednesday evening*, [*December* 8, 1697].

Madame,

[The original letter is here copied in shorthand. It is endorsed "S. P. to Mrs Vernon, upon her lookeing-out for a house for Mr Secretary her husband."] [1]

96 [MS. iv. 146, 147]. Dr Locke's Method for Digesting a Common-place Book [1697 ?].

[In 1697 the philosopher John Locke published "A New Method of making Commonplace Books," a translation of his "Methode Nouvelle de dresser des Recueils," in the "Bibliothèque Choisie," July 1686. The document in the MS. is a ruled scheme in blank

and so on for each letter of the alphabet, J, K, U, W, and Y being omitted, and Q coming at the end, after Z. Specimen entries follow:

Cicero.—A mon sens il n'y a point dans Ciceron de plus belle maxime de politique, que celle qu'il propose à ceux qui sont appellez au gouvernement de l'etat, d'y entrer *minimo sonitu*, comme l'ame dans le corps, et de faire ses fonctions avec tant de moderation qu'il ne semble pas qu'on agisse, de crainte qu'en se remnant trop, on n'excite des movemens qui ne manquent presque jamais de ruiner l'autorité avant qu'elle soit établie. *Melanges d'Histoire et de Literature*, Part 2, p. 274.

Roman.—Quantum Græci præceptis valent, tantum Romani, quod est majus exemplis. Quintilian, *Instit.*]

[1] On December 5 Mr James Vernon had been sworn of the Privy Council and appointed a Secretary of State.

97 [MS. iv. 149]. The Attorney-General's Speech in the case of Mr Duncombe.[1]

[*February* 26, 1697–8.]

*Mr Atturney Generall.* Sir,—I han't given you any trouble yet in the debate and progress of this Bill. What I have done in it in prepareing the Bill and appointing counsel to attend the examination of the matter was in obedience to your order; and truly I was unwilling to speak in it, because in the beginning I was not satisfyed with this way of proceeding. But because I am so unfortunate as to differ with the gentlemen for whose opinion I have great respect, I was unwilling to hold my tongue and hear other gentlemen. But I am not convinced by any thing they have said. I am against judging our fellow-subjects by our own discretion. I think that will be a difficult thing; and when we come to be under that relation, we must consider what we are doing. All our discretions, I am sure mine, is very weak, and subject to many passions and frailtys. And when we are giving judgment upon another, I think it would become us to turn the tables and consider what we should think of it if this case was our own; and we had better do that before it comes to be our own. And therefore I hope that gentleman does think this a serious matter that you are about. I know now how such a præcedent may be followed, and I do assure you I will not add such an argument, if such a thing should happen upon me (though unreasonable in itself), that I thought it reasonable when another man was concerned.

[1] Mr Charles Duncombe, banker and politician, was charged in 1698 with having falsely endorsed certain bills when Receiver of the Excise. In January of that year he was expelled from Parliament, and on February 26 a bill of pains and penalties passed the Commons "after much debate," by which two-thirds of his property would have been appropriated to public purposes, but it was rejected by one vote in the House of Lords, and proceedings against him in the Court of King's Bench failed on technical grounds. He was knighted in 1699, was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1708, and died in 1711 the richest commoner in England (*D.N.B.*, xvi. 175).

The Attorney-General was Sir Thomas Trevor, Member for Plympton in Devonshire. He afterwards became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and was the first holder of that office to be raised to the peerage during his tenure of it (*D.N.B.*, lvii. 229).

Seeing I must give my judgment upon this matter, I will do it with all the understanding that I have (which God knows is but little), and will lay aside all animosity; and for favour and affection I think there is no reason to suspect me. I have little acquaintance and consideration for this gentleman in particular; but 'tis your justice and honour, and the preservation of England and the libertys of all the subjects thereof, that I am concerned for. And therefore when I come to give my opinion upon this Bill, these things require consideration.

First, the nature of the fact this gentleman is accused of, and the manner of the proceeding to punish it; and the nature of the judgment you are going to inflict.

For my part, I can't discharge my conscience without considering the best I can the nature of the fact. I am not justifying what he has done: I don't think it was an honest part of his at all. For where any man has to do with the King's money, in strict justice and honesty, if any advantage be made of it, it ought to be to the King's benefit and not to his own. But I am afraid this is a notion of honesty we seldom find in practice. I am sorry it is so. But however we must consider, when we are upon the case of one man, what is usually done, and that does lessen and extenuate the crime a little if it has been practised by others.

Then for the nature of the fact, whether it be a crime against any law or no, I think you must consider a little these Exchequer-bills, what they are. They are a new invention; but I doe agree a very useful one. And I believe, under the necessity you were the last year, they were a great service to the Publick. And then, as they are a new invention, so your law upon which they are founded, and the circulation upon which these bills depended, was uncertainly penned; and it could not be well otherwise; and there are several words in it that any man that reads only these words, and was not here at the making, to know your intention, might very well think those bills to be current in all payments to the King.

This law might give a man a pretence and might be a temptation to a man to venture to pay them to get something by them. Yet 'tis true this [is] a transgression of the rules

of honesty; for when he had received the King's money in specie, if he would turn it into bills he should in justice have payd these bills and discompt to the King. But if we examine narrowly into it, I believe we shall find no body did it. I don't believe of the 200,000*l.* payd in Exchequer-bills which was received in specie, that they payd-in the discompt too. So that we must make allowance in the penalty from the uncertainty in the law and the necessity of making these bills to circulate as much as would be for the support of their credit; and I believe that was done. And I believe the necessity of affairs required that the money was payd in the countrey in specie, and the bills drawn for money to be payd in specie. Yet the necessity of affairs, and to keep-up their credit, required, and it was proper, those payments should be received in Exchequer-bills. Then I consider, if the necessity of affairs did justify in that, I can't say at the same time that is so great an offence in this gentleman, when he received money in specie, to turn it into Exchequer-bills and pay in those bills. So that we must consider throughout, and not pitch upon a man and think to undo him by such a penalty for doing that which I think was not very honest but I doubt was too much practised and was of necessity to be allowed of. For was there any body that medled with these bills but who got by them? If you had not allowed men to have gott by them, Exchequer-bills would have been worth nothing, and their credit would have been quite sunk.

Now there are two things charged in the Bill. The first is the false endorsment. Why, the endorsment required by the Act of Parliament settles the time and duty by which they are payd-in. Now if he had writ that they were payd-in upon the Excise, that had been a false endorsment of what the Act intended. But here is nothing but the writing the name of the person from whom he had them, or some other name that person thought fit to put upon them. And I can't call this a false endorsment.

Then, now I have mentioned this as to the nature of the offence, I think you have gone very fast already in punishing of it. You have imprisoned him, and expelled him the House.

That is no small punishment. And whatsoever any gentleman may think when inflicted upon another, when they come to suffer it themselves I am afrayd they will find the weight of it.

Now, in the next place, I would consider the method you are proceeding in to punish this gentleman, that is, by Bill by the Legislative Power. And for my own part, I must own my weakness as to this proceeding. I have always had a terrible apprehension of it.

It had not been long after I came into the House but there was this proceeding. But from that time I have been against the exercising the Legislative Power in inflicting punishment. And the longer I have sate here, and the more I see of it, the more I am confirmed in that opinion. And when you began the East India Company I did not think it would rest there but be followed and improved; for I find all precedents are improved. And the 2d is fortifyed by an argument from the 1st, and [the] 2d is an argument for the 3d. And the longer you go-on that way, it will be the harder ever to make a stopp; and I would have you consider the consequence of it. I think the foundation of the English liberty is only layd in this: That the Legislative Power is in one hand and the Executive in another; that the Legislative Power is to make laws to be the rule of men's actions, and the Executive to inflict the penalty according to those laws. So that a man may know (if not willfully ignorant) what rule he is to follow, and may know when he does offend and when not; and then 'tis his own fault if he do's not secure himself.

But, Sir, if once you come to this, that the Legislative Power shall not only make laws to be a rule for the future but make laws *ex post facto* to punish men for offences against which there is no law, and inflict what penaltys they please, I desire to consider what becomes of the notion we have had of English liberty and property: That is, that no man's liberty and property can be taken away but upon the transgression of some law in being.

I wish gentlemen would consider of it seriously. I think every man is concerned in it one way or another. And though no man doubts but you have a power to do what you think

fit, yet I do say by the Constitution of England the design of the Legislative Power is to make laws for a rule for the future and not *ex post facto* to punish people. Men are to be punished for the transgression against some known law; and the Executive Power are accountable if they do not pursue those rules. But you have no rule to follow here, but only your own discretion, that is, every man's will and pleasure. For really I can't much distinguish between this discretion, and will and pleasure. Our discretion is influenced by our inclinations. And therefore, for my part, I desire as long as we can we may preserve our Constitution, by which Englishmen are supported in their lives, liberties, and estates by having laws made which if they do not transgress they may be safe.

I do not doubt any things move gentlemen but a zeale for justice; but I would have gentlemen think that I [stand?] for justice now; whether they don't make a præcedent now that may be made use of hereafter when there is no reason for it at all. We know there have been in former times a prevailing power, a party in the House of Commons; and it may be so again. I would not have them that come afterwards serve themselves with such a præcedent, though done upon reasonable grounds, that they may turn to do mischief without cause. Therefore for my [part] I can't give my consent to the putting of this Bill.

Then in the next place, consider what this Bill is in the nature of it, and the punishment it inflicts. 'Tis grounded upon a proof, and upon the confession of the gentleman in this House. Really I am very tender of grounding punishment upon confessions in this House. You know when there is an accusation you expect an account of [it] from the party, and take it ill if they do not confess (and there are præcedents of shewing your displeasure against those who have refused to confess). So though you call it a voluntary confession, I believe he was not willing to have made it if he had not been afraid of something worse if he had not done it. Therefore when a man is drawn by expectation of favour to make a confession, I think 'tis hard to make that the foundation to form an Act upon to take away his estate. I think that either way there

is a præcedent for the proceeding of this House. If a man do's not confess, then there is a præcedent of an Act to imprison him for a year because he do's not confess. And if he does confess, then 'tis the great argument you found an Act upon to take away his estate.

I can't but upon considering these things think it a matter of great moment to us all. And if gentlemen would so seriously consider this matter, now they are punishing another, as they would expect others should consider it if they were punishing them, very few in this House would be for this Bill. I am sure it is every man's duty to be so, and his interest. And though we don't look upon this case as our own, yet it may quickly come. And I have observed in my little experience, those præcedents when followed have been followed to the prejudice of those who have been the authors of them; and there is a reason for it. For there is a kind of inclination in mankind to make people sensible by their own sufferings of any hard thing they have done to other people. It may be, it may not be, reasonable. But the infirmity of mankind leads them to it. Therefore I think you should take great consideration in this matter. I think the punishment is excessive, bears noe proportion to the crime; I think 'tis too excessive for the nature of the offence. I think you have punished him enough already. And therefore I am not for making a præcedent that may undo any man for the future.

*Finis.*

98 [MS. i. 120]. Dr Charlett to Mr Pepys. [*Holograph*]. *Univ. Coll., March* 6, 1697–8.

Honored Sir,—I could not let my ingenious neighbour, Mr Shadwell[1] of Allsouls, go to York street, without obliging him to wait on Mr Pepys with my respects and services.

I have not yet payd you my thanks for the contrivance of my cypher, which so well pleases all my freinds, particularly the Deane of Christ Church,[2] who was much delighted with the beautifull and modest composition of the whole.

[1] On Mr, afterwards Sir John, Shadwell, the physician, see *D.N.B.*, li. 338.

[2] Dr Henry Aldrich.

Mr Wanly [1] is designing to get leave for London. I know you will be the first person he will make his court to, from whom whatever concerns the rough and aged, or smooth and moderne parts of learning in this University, you shall receave, in hopes of his returning back again laded with new acquisitions and improvements of skill and knowledge from your informations, counsels,[2] and assistance, of all which my long experience of your most obliging and communicative and most diffusive cander has given him expectation.

Mr Shadwell must ask your blessing and I your pardon, so often needed, and never denied to, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

AR. CHARLETT.

99 [MS. i. 122]. A LIST OF WORDS DICTATED TO MR MEHEUX.

*Saturday, September* 10, 1698.

1. Coffee.
2. Sword.
3. Standish.
4. Hat.
5. Sugar.
6. Lute.
7. Glue.
8. Garden.
9. Razor.
10. Through.
11. Whence.
12. Oxford.
13. Vinegar.
14. Although.
15. Fumble.
16. Gale.
17. Rome.
18. Hobby-Horse.
19. Spratt.
20. Saddle.
21. Melancholy.
22. Apple.
23. Grid-iron.
24. Green.
25. Thought.
26. Pistol.
27. Apricock.
28. Vacancy.
29. Mellon.
30. Green-sickness.
31. Cardinal.
32. Finger.
33. Righteousness.
34. Periwigg.
35. Halter.
36. Spectacles.
37. From.
38. On.
39. Susan.
40. Mulberry.
41. Hackney.
42. Vine.
43. Stewed Prunes.
44. Holyness.
45. Budget.
46. Pigg.
47. Cambridge.
48. Triangle.
49. Glyster.
50. Spider.
51. Skirmish.
52. Windsor.
53. River.
54. True.
55. Frivolous.
56. Tree.
57. Commode.
58. Sandwich.
59. Plant.
60. Suck.

[1] See note on p. 104 above.

[2] MS. "councills."

*Saturday, September* 10, 1698.[1]

A list of 60 independent words dictated this day at my table by my Lord Clarendon,[2] Captain Hatton, Dr Smith,[3] and myself (each successively at his pleasure) and by me herein set down in their numerical order, to Mr Meheux, and by him (without other help than a silent pause of about 8 minutes) not only repeated in the same order forwards and backwards, but answering our demands of any of them singly by their numbers only, out of all order. And this without the least failure, or soe much as hesitancy, saving only that in his first recital thereof in their natural order forwards, he stopt at the word *Budget*, desiring he might skip that, as not readily remembring it, and went-on to the next word, *Pigg*; but in his repeating them immediately again backwards he made no stop at it at all, but quoted it *Budget* without the least hesitation.

It is to be noted indeed, that besides this he did in his progressive recital only, instead of *True*, No. 54, call it *Trusty*. And this was all wherein he exprest the least sort of imperfection.

Nor did he stint us at all to this or any other number of words; for when we offered to stop at 50, he invited us to go on; which we did to 60, and might have gone further for any offer hee made to the limiting us; but we thought that abundantly enough.

Memorandum only, That when Captain Hatton would have begun with *Heautontimoroumenos*, for the sake of the many syllables, he objected to it, not for the number of syllables, but prayed that our words, whatever they were, might be significative only of something that he understood.

*N.B.*—That Captain Hatton (who had seen the like experiment before in France) asking him whether his making another experiment presently upon quite another new sett of words would not entirely efface the memory of these (for so he told

[1] A memorandum of the same date, but somewhat abbreviated from this, is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 357, and reprinted in Smith, ii. 352, and Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, p. 280.

[2] See note on p. 33 above.

[3] See note on p. 104 above.

us it was in the case of him in France) he answered, that it would not at all if he proposed to himself the remembring of the former, and was now ready to have given us a proof of it, had we insisted on it.

100 [MS. i. 123]. Dr Wallis[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Oxford, October* 15, 1698.

Sir,—I was told yesterday by Dr Charlet, that you were very inquisitive for the original of a letter of mine to you.[2] It was sent down by Dr Sloan[3] (or his printer) to be printed here, because they at London had not all the characters requisite for the printing of it. I am very glad (since you seem so much to valew it) that it did not perish at the press, as such things often do. I had the good hap (when the sheet was brought to me to revise before it was printed off) to retain the copy by me and not return it to the press with the sheet revised. And now, looking over my papers, I have found it there; and send it you here inclosed. They wanted a little more to be added to fill up the page, (for they thought it would not look well to have a blank page in the midst of a book), which made me give them another paper to be added to the original letter, which I send allso with this. Of which they printed so much as to serve their turn, and (because it was a little more than they wanted) somewhat of it was crossed out. I add no more but that I am, Yours to serve you,

John Wallis.

A Letter of Dr John Wallis to Samuel Pepys Esqre, relating to some supposed Imperfections in an Organ [*Holograph*].

*Oxford, June* 27, 1698.

Sir,—Mr *Harris*,[4] an organ-maker (whom I find, by the little discourse I had with him, to be very well skilled in his

[1] See note on p. 107 above.
[2] The original letter follows.
[3] See note on p. 104 above.
[4] On Renatus Harris, the famous organ-builder, see *D.N.B.*, xxv. 21.

profession) was lately with me, as by direction from you, to ask my opinion about perfecting an organ in a point wherein he thinks it yet imperfect.

'Tis an honour you please to put upon me, to think my opinion considerable in a thing wherein I am so little acquainted as is that of an organ.

I do not pretend to be perfectly acquainted with the structure of an organ, its several parts, and the incidents thereunto, having never had occasion and opportunity to inform myself particularly therein. And, for the same reason, many of the words, phrases, forms of speech, and terms of art which are familiar to organists and organ-makers are not so to me. Which therefore I shall wa[i]ve, (for till we perfectly understand one another's language it is not easy to speak intelligibly), and apply myself directly to what is particularly proposed.

This (I take it) is evident: That each *pipe* in the organ is intended to express a distinct *sound* at such a *pitch*; That is, in such a determinate degree of *gravity* or *acuteness*, or (as it is now called) *flatness* or *sharpness*. And the *relative* or *comparative* consideration of two (or more) such sounds or degrees of flatness and sharpness is the ground of (what we call) *concord* and *discord*; that is, a soft or harsh coincidence.

Now concerning this, there were amongst the Ancient Greeks two (the most considerable) *sects* of musicians, the *Aristoxenians* and the *Pythagorians*.

They both agreed thus far, That *dia-tessaron* and *dia-pente* do together make-up *dia-pason*: that is (as we now speak) a *fourth* and *fifth* do together make an *eighth* or *octave*; And the *difference* of those two (of a fourth and fifth) they agreed to call a *tone*; which we now call a *whole-note*.

Such is that (in our present Musick) of *la mi*, (or as it was wont to be called, *re mi*). For *la fa sol la* or *mi fa sol la* is a perfect *fourth*; and *la fa sol la mi* or *la mi fa sol la* is a perfect fifth; the *difference* of which is *la mi*. Which is what the Greeks call the *diazeuctick tone* which doth *dis-join* two *fourths* (on each side of it) and, being added to either of them, doth make a *fifth*. Which was, in their Musick, that from

*mese* to *paramese*; that is, in our Musick, from A to B, supposing *mi* to stand in B *fa* b *mi*, which is accounted its *natural* position.

Now in order to this, *Aristoxenus* and his followers did take that of a *fourth* as a *known intervall* by the judgement of the ear; and that of a *fifth* likewise; and consequently, that of an *octave* as the *aggregate* of both; and that of a *tone* as the *difference* of those two.

And this of a *tone* (as a *known intervall*) they took as a *common measure* by which they did estimate other intervalls. And accordingly they accounted a *fourth* to contain *two tones and a half*; a *fifth* to contain *three tones and an half*; and consequently an *eighth* to contain *six tones*, or *five tones and two half-tones*. And it is very near the matter, though not exactly so.

And at this rate we commonly speak at this day; supposing an *octave* to consist of *twelve hemitones* or *half-notes* (meaning thereby somewhat near so many half-notes). But when we would speak more nicely, we do not take these supposed *half-notes* to be exactly *equal*, or each of them just the *half* of a *full-note*, such as is that of *la mi*.

*Pythagoras* and those who follow him, not taking the ear alone to be a competent judge in a case so nice, chose to distinguish these, not by *intervalls* but by *proportions*. And accordingly they accounted that of an *octave* to be when the degree of gravity or acuteness of the one sound to that of the other is *double*, or as 2 to 1; that of a *fifth* when it is *sesqui-alter*, or as 3 to 2; that of a *fourth* when *sesqui-tertian*, or as 4 to 3. Accounting that the sweetest proportion which is exprest in the smallest numbers; and therefore (next to the *unisone*) that of an *octave*, 2 to 1; then that of a *fifth*, 3 to 2; and then that of a *fourth*, 4 to 3.

And thus that of a *fourth* and *fifth* do together make an *eighth*: for $\frac{4}{3}\times\frac{3}{2}=\frac{4}{2}=\frac{2}{1}=2$. That is, *four thirds* of *three halves* is the same as *four halves*, that is *two*. Or (in other words to the same sense) the proportion of 4 to 3, compounded

with that of 3 to 2, is the same with that of 4 to 2, or 2 to 1. And consequently the *difference* of those two, which is that of a *tone* or *full-note*, is that of 9 to 8. For $\frac{4}{3})\frac{3}{2}(\frac{9}{8}$; that is, *three halves* divided by *four thirds* is *nine-eighths*; or, if out of the proportion of 3 to 2 we take that of 4 to 3, the result is that of 9 to 8.

Now according to this computation it is manifest that an *octave* is somewhat less than *six full-notes*. For (as was first demonstrated by *Euclide*, and since by others) the proportion of 9 to 8, being six times compounded, is somewhat more than that of 2 to 1. For

$$\frac{9}{8}\times\frac{9}{8}\times\frac{9}{8}\times\frac{9}{8}\times\frac{9}{8}\times\frac{9}{8}=\frac{531441}{262144},$$ is more than $\frac{524288}{262144}=\frac{2}{1}$.

This being the case, they allowed indisputably to that of the *dia-zeuctick tone* (*la mi*) the full proportion of 9 to 8, as a thing not to be altered; being the difference of *dia-pente* and *dia-tessaron*, or the *fifth* and *fourth*.

All the difficulty was, how the remaining *fourth* (*mi fa sol la*) should be divided into three parts so as to answer (pretty near) the Aristoxenians' *two tones and an half*, and might, all together, make up the proportion of 4 to 3, which is that of a *fourth* or *dia-tessaron*.

Many attempts were made to this purpose: and, according to those, they gave names to the different *genera* or kinds of musick (the *diatonick*, *chromatick*, and *enarmonick* kinds), with the several *species* or lesser distinctions under those generals. All which to enumerate would be too large, and not necessary to our business.

The first was that of *Euclide* (which did most generally obtain for many ages), which allows to *fa sol* and to *sol la* the full proportion of 9 to 8; and therefore to *fa sol la* (which we call the *greater third*) that of 81 to 64 (for $\frac{9}{8}\times\frac{9}{8}=\frac{81}{64}$). And consequently to that of *mi fa* (which is the remainder to a *fourth*)

that of 256 to 243. For $\frac{81}{64}\Big)\frac{4}{3}\Big(\frac{256}{243}$; that is, if out of the proportion of 4 to 3 we take that of 81 to 64, the result is that of 256 to 243. To this they gave the name of *Lemma* (λεῖμμα) that is, the *remainder* (to wit, over and above *two tones*). But in common discourse (when we do not pretend to speak nicely, nor intend to be so understood) it is usual to call it an *hemitone* or *half-note* (as being very near it), and the other two *whole-notes*. And this is what *Ptolemy* calls *diatonum ditonum*, (of the *diatonick* kind with *two full tones*).

Against this it is objected (as not the most convenient division) that the numbers of 81 to 64 are too great for that of a *ditone* or *greater third*, which is not *harsh* to the ear, but is rather *sweeter* than that of a single *tone*, who's proportion is 9 to 8. And in that 256 to 243 the numbers are yet much greater, whereas there are many proportions $\left(\text{as } \frac{5}{4}, \frac{6}{5}, \frac{7}{6}, \frac{8}{7}\right)$, in smaller numbers than that of 9 to 8; of which, in this division, there is no notice taken.

To rectify this, there is another division thought more convenient; which is *Ptolemy's diatonum intensum* (of the *diatonick* kind, more *intense* or acute than that other). Which, instead of two *full-tones* for *fa sol la*, assignes (what we now call) a *greater* and a *lesser* tone (which, by the more nice musicians of this and the last age, seemes to be more embraced), assigning to *fa sol* that of 9 to 8 (which they call the *greater* tone) and to *sol la* that of 10 to 9 (which they call the *lesser* tone); and therefore to *fa la* (the *ditone* or *greater third*) that of 5 to 4. $\left(\text{For } \frac{10}{9}\times\frac{9}{8}=\frac{10}{8}=\frac{5}{4}.\right)$ And consequently to *mi fa* (which is remaining of the *fourth*) that of 16 to 15. For $\frac{5}{4}\Big)\frac{4}{3}\Big(\frac{16}{15}$; that is, if out of that of 4 to 3 we take that of 5 to 4, there remains that of 16 to 15.

Many other ways there are (with which I shal not trouble

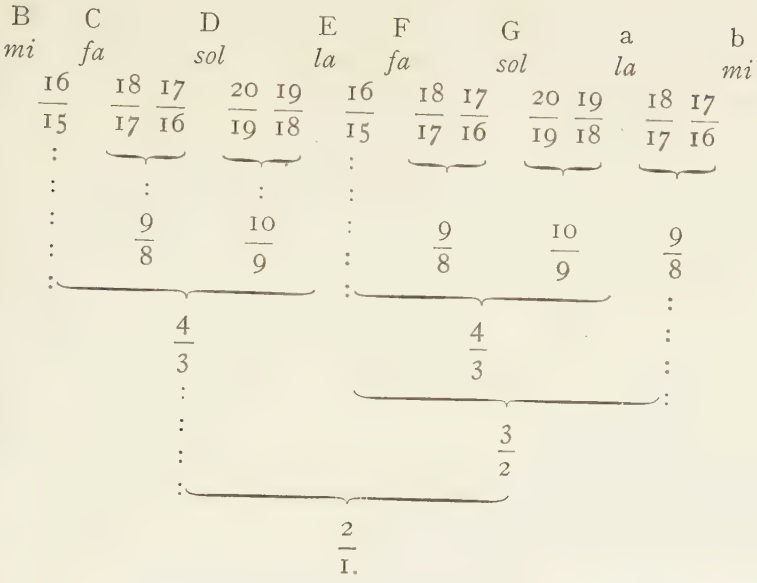
you at present) of dividing the *fourth* or *dia-tessaron*, or the proportion of 4 to 3, into three parts, answering to what (in a looser way of expression) we call an *half-note* and two *whole-notes*. But this of $\frac{16}{15} \cdot \frac{9}{8} \cdot \frac{10}{9} = \frac{4}{3}$ is that which is now received as the most proper. To which therefore I shal apply my discourse. Where $\frac{16}{15}$ is (what we call) the *hemitone* or *half-note* in *mi fa*; $\frac{9}{8}$ that of the *greater-tone* in *fa sol*; and $\frac{10}{9}$ the *lesser-tone* in *sol la*.

Onely with this addition: that each of those tones is (upon occasion) by *flats* and *sharps* (as we now speak) divided into two *hemitones* or *half-notes*; which answers to what by the Greeks was called *mutatio quoad modos* the change of moods, and what is now done by removing *mi* to another key. Namely,

$\frac{9}{8} = \frac{18}{17} \times \frac{17}{16}$; and $\frac{10}{9} = \frac{20}{19} \times \frac{19}{18}$.

Thus, by the help of *flats* and *sharps* (dividing each *whole-note*, be it the greater or the lesser, into two *half-notes*, or what we call so), the whole *octave* is divided into twelve parts or intervalls (contained between thirteen pipes) which are commonly called *hemitones* or *half-notes*. Not that each is precisely *half a note*, but somewhat near it, and so called. And I say, by *flats* and *sharps*, for sometime the one, sometime the other is used. As, for instance, a *flat* in D, or a *sharp* in C, do either of them denote a *midling* sound (though not precisely in the midst) between C and D, sharper than C and flatter than D.

Accordingly, supposing *mi* to stand in B *fa* b *mi* (which is accounted its natural seat), the sounds of each pipe are to bear these proportions to each other, viz.,




And so in each octave successively following. And if the pipes in each octave be fitted to sounds in these proportions of gravity and acuteness, it will be supposed (according to this hypothesis) to be perfectly proportioned.

But instead of these successive proportions for each hemitone, it is found necessary (if I do not mistake the practise) so to order the 13 pipes (containing 12 intervalls which they call hemitones) so that their sounds (as to gravity and acuteness) be in continual proportion (each to its next following, in one and the same proportion); which, all together, shal compleat that of an octave or dia-pason, as 2 to 1. Whereby it comes to pass that each pipe doth not express its proper sound, but very near it, yet somewhat varying from it, which they call *bearing*; which is somewhat of imperfection in this noble instrument, the top of all.

It may be asked, why may not the pipes be so ordered as to have their sounds in just proportion, as well as thus *bearing*?

I answer, it might very well be so if all musick were composed to the same *key*, or (as the Greeks call it) the same *mode*;

as, for instance, if in all compositions *mi* were allways placed in B *fa* b *mi*. For then the pipes might be ordered in such proportions as I have now designed.

But musical compositions are made in great variety of *modes*, or with great diversity in the *pitch*. *Mi* is not allways placed in B *fa* b *mi*; but sometimes in E *la mi*; sometimes in A *la mi re*, etc. And (in summe) there is none of these 12 or 13 pipes but may be made the seat of *mi*. And if they were exactly fitted to any one of these cases, they would be quite out of order for all the rest.

As for instance, if *mi* be removed from B *fa* b *mi* (by a *flat* in B) to E *la mi*; instead of the proportions but now designed, they must be thus ordered:

| B | | C | | D | | E | F | | G | | a | b |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fa | | sol | | la | | mi | fa | | sol | | la | fa |
| 18/17 | 17/16 | 20/19 | 19/18 | 18/17 | 17/16 | 16/15 | 18/17 | 17/16 | 20/19 | 19/18 | 16/15 | |

Where 'tis manifest that the removal of *mi* doth quite disorder the whole series of proportions. And the same would again happen if *mi* be removed from E to A (by another *flat* in E). And again if removed from A to D. And so perpetually.

But the hemitones being made all equal, they do indifferently answer all the positions of *mi* (though not exactly to any), yet nearer to some than to others. Whence it is that the same tune sounds better at one key than at another.

It is asked, whether this may not be remedied by interposing more pipes, and thereby dividing a note, not onely (as now) into *half-notes*, but into *quarter-notes* or *half-quarter-notes*, etc.

I answere, it may be thus remedied in part (that is, the imperfection might thus be somewhat less, and the sounds somewhat nearer to the just proportions); but it can never be exactly true so long as their sounds (be they never so many) be in continual proportion, that is, each to the next subsequent in the same proportion.

For it hath been long since demonstrated that there is no such thing as a *just hemitone* practicable in musick, (and the

like for the division of a tone into any number of *equal* parts; three, four, or more). For supposing the proportion of a *tone* or *full-note* to be $\frac{9}{8}$ (or as 9 to 8), that of the *half-note* must as $\sqrt{9}$ to $\sqrt{8}$ (as the *square-root* of 9 to the *square-root* of 8; that is, as 3 to $\sqrt{8}$, or 3 to $2\sqrt{2}$), which are *incommensurable* quantities. And that of a *quarter-note* as $\sqrt{99}$ 9 to $\sqrt{99}$ 8, (as the *biquadrate* root of 9 to the *biquadrate* root of 8), which is yet more *incommensurate*. And the like for any other number of equal parts, which will therefore never fall-in with the proportions of number to number.

So that this can never be perfectly adjusted for all keys (without somewhat of bearing) by multiplying of pipes; unless we would for every key (or every different seat of *mi*) have a different set of pipes, of which this or that is to be used according as (in the composition) *mi* is supposed to stand in this or that seat, which vast number of pipes (for every octave) would vastly increase the charge. And (when all is done) make the whole impracticable.

These are the thoughts, and upon these grounds, (in the question proposed) of, Sir, Yours to serve you,

JOHN WALLIS.

[There follows the other paper referred to in the covering letter on p. 155 above. The parts of it which are crossed out are enclosed in square brackets.]

These are my present thoughts of the question proposed to me, and upon these grounds.

You will please to excuse me for the trouble I give you of so long a letter. [But I was willing to deliver my opinion as plain and clear as might be, which would not be (in a matter of this intricacy) in a few words, so as to be well understood.]

I thought it necessary to give a little intimation of the ancient Greek Musick compared with what is now in practise, which is more the same than most men are aware of, though the language be very different. But I was not to be large in it. Those who desire to know more of it may see my thoughts more at large in that Appendix which I have added at the end

of my edition of Ptolemy's Harmonicks[1] [in Greek and Latin, wherein I have taken some pains (and not without some difficulty) to shew the agreement and difference of the ancient Greek Musick with that in present use, and how far our present *gam-ut* answeres to the Greeks' *dia-gramma*].

The two eminent sects with them, the *Aristoxenian* and the *Pythagorian*, differ much at the same rate as doth the language of our ordinary practical musicians and that of those who treat of it in a more speculative way.

Our practical musicians talk of *notes* and *half-notes* just as the *Aristoxenians* did; as if the *whole-notes* were all equal, and the *half-notes* likewise each the just half of a whole note. And thus it is necessary to suppose in the pipes of an organ, which have each their determinate sound and not to be corrected in their little inequalities, as the voice may be by the guidance of the eare.

But *Pythagoras* and those who follow him found by the ear, that this equality of intervals would not exactly answer the musical appearances in conchords and dischords; just as our organists and organ-makers be now aware that their pipes at equal intervalls do not give the just desired harmony without some what of *bearing*, that is, of some little variation from the just sound.

The *Pythagorians*, to help this, changed the notion of *equal intervals* into that of *due proportions*, [which they did adjust as it was to the true nature of numbers and natural principles of motions as to the observation of the ear]. And this is followed by *Zarline*,[2] *Keppler*,[3] *Cartes*,[4] and others who treat of speculative musick in this and the last age. And though they speak of notes and half-notes (in a more gross way, much as others do, yet declare themselves to be understood more nicely.

And though our present *gam-ut* take no notice of this little diversity, yet in vocal musick the ear directs the voice to a more just proportion. And in string-musick it may in like

[1] Wallis's edition of Ptolemy's *Harmonicon* was published in 1680.
[2] Guiseppe Zarlino (1517–1590), an Italian musical theorist.
[3] Johann Kepler (1571–1630) the astronomer.
[4] René Descartes (1596–1650) the philosopher.

manner be helped by straining and slackening the strings, or moving the frets. But in wind-musick the pipes are not capable of such correction, and therefore we must be content with some little irregularity therein; that so they may tolerably answer (though not exactly) the different compositions, accordimg to the different placing of *mi* in the *gamm-ut*.

Now the design of Mr Harris seems to be thus: either (by multiplying intermediate pipes) to bring the organ to a just perfection; or else (if that cannot be done) to rest content with the little imperfection that is, which though by more pipes it may be somewhat abated, yet cannot be perfectly remedied. And in this I think we must acquiesce. I am, Sir,

[J. W.]

101 [MS. iv. 151]. Mr Pepys's Home Notes [*Holograph*].[1]

[1698?.]

*Home-notes for myself to attend when able.*

[Anecdotes,—bring hither.]
[Ayres's,—Præsent.]
Bagford,[2]—send-for, and Notes No. 1.
Clarendon, Lord,—Notes No. 2.
[Clock-pulling,—Mend.]
Hatton Capt.,—Notes No. 3.
[Houblon, Sir Ja., etc., Cadix.]
Hunt,—Notes No. 4.
Keys adjust.
London-Towne,—Notes No. 5.
Moore,—send-for, and Notes No. 6.
Ring-Diall,—Whitehead.
Roman-Foot,—Tuttle and Greaves.

[1] Some of the entries have been crossed out, presumably because they had been attended to. These are indicated by square brackets. The character of the entries suggests 1698 as a probable date for the document.

[2] On John Bagford, the shoemaker and collector of books, see *D.N.B.*, ii. 396.

Sloane Dr
- [Bellisono, Seignr.]
- Dr Smith's Hieroglyphicks.
- Second-Sight Papers.
- Benefaction to the R[oyal] S[ociety].

[Watch,—Tampion.]
[My character of Monsr. De G[alénière] to the Archbishop.]
Second Sight,—Transactions, Q.
[Colours in Powder.]
[Fisherman's Stoole.]
[Mad[lle] de Galliniere,—Bounty.]
[Perspective and Microscop glasses,—bring.]
[Book of Birds.]
[Books and Papers uselesse carry home.]
[Admiralty—Book, List, etc.]
Generall Notes,—No. 7.
Debts,—No. 8.

[Dr Sloane]
- [My Complaint.]
- [Italian-Fellow.]
- [Dr Smith's Hieroglyphicks.]
- [Second-Sight Papers.]

No. 1. Bagford.

Ayres, Major,—his Præsent.
Carver's Debt.
Chiswell's Do. . . . 12*s*.
Collection-Notes.
- Cards,—variety.
- [Dryden's Head.]
- Mathematick Badge.
- Smith's latest Worke.
- Tempest's prints.

Plott, Dr's, Debt,—5*l*.
[Protestant Charitys.]
Short-hands vye.
Thevenot's Voyages.
[Mr Dryden's Chaucer.]
[Rowly's Line-plate.]
[Wanly's Papers,—view.]
[Tredescant's Tomb.]
[Jer. Burroughs' Lord of Hosts, 1643.]

No. 2. Clarendon, Lord.

Anecdotes, from Dec. to Convention.
Dead-Warrant,—Phelps.
Monmouth, D's dying.
Royall Family liveing 1660. 1688.
Second Sight.
Tower-Records.

No. 3. Hatton, Captn.

Pembroke, Lord,—Universall Character.
Short-hand.
Shorthand vyers.

No. 4. Hunt.

Benefaction, my, etc.
List of Debtors cleared. Q.
Weather-Glasse new.
Dr Hooke
- Aperture.
- Glasse-Musique.

No. 5. London Towne.

Lea,—Debt.
England's 12 Divisions.
Do. Parlt., Burrows.

Mapp of London, returne.
Stayne { Paris, my Environs. / Rome, old.
Marshall,—Microscops review. } [Perspective-Topp.] }
Microscop,—[Capps reforme.]
[Do. ,—Glasse, a new.]
Do. ,—use thereof refresh [and Q. downward as well as through.]
Pepper - Water and Viniger.
[Manner of inspecting eels. Q. What elce ?]
[Q. a proper Candle ?]
[Hook's, etc., Books bring.]
[Old Spectacle Glasses.]
[Wheel Microscope. Q. mine ?]
Wheel-Microscope, —recollect, old and new.
Microscop Horizontall, recollect.
Do. review } Glasses. Generall, } Objects.
Minikin,—Royall Soveraigne, Proof.
Do. Plate.
Thornton,—Mapp adjust,—about French, etc., Rivers' Mouths.

No. 6. Moore.

[Ball and Socket of Wood. Q.]
Ballads old,—returne.
Booke-Deske,—running.
Cromwell's Head.
Crosier.
[Darke Hous Glasse,—choose.]
[ Do. Moveable Window-Board.]
Mapp, new, of London,—unpaste.
Vice in Closet,—fix.
[Review my Darke Hous wholly.]
Apperture of Leafe-Gold.
Micro-paper, Cutt.
An 8th Booke-Presse.

No. 7. Generall.

Collins's Coasting - Worke, — Q. Mount.
Davenant, Dr,—Burrows Maritime. Excize-Papers.
History of the. Double-Bottome,—Tollett. Sea Whistle,—Hunter.
Letter in answer to D[uke of] Y[ork]'s, 1679, supply.
Mehew,—my Cone Metalline. His Memory,[1]—learne.
Sully's Memoires,—Scott perfect.
Willson,—Blanch Silver. do. Ivory.
To Freeze Metalls, { [Powders.] / Convex.
Noctiluca.[2]
Mettalls,—cleane.
2 - Papered Bodys, — Q. What ?
Works to bee visited with M[ary] S[kynner]. { Card-makeing. / Copperas-Worke. / Enamelling. / Gold-Beateing. / Gresh[am] College. / Guilding by { Fire. / Water. / Lamp-blowing. / Letter-founding. / Weaving { Stockings. / in Silke { Ribbands. / Wyre-drawing.

No. 8. Debts.

Ashly,—the Rowling-Presse Man.
Fishmonger,—Fish-street.
Griffin's Printing-Account.
Hoare, Mr,—the Goldsmith.
Lea,—the Globe-maker.
Lownes,—the Book-seller.
Thornton,—Sea-Platt Maker.
Tuttle,—Math. Instrument Maker.
Whitehead,—Do.

[1] On Mr Meheux's memory, see pp. 153–4 above.
[2] A species of phosphorus.

102 [MS. i. 127]. Mr Pepys to Mr Edmund Gibson[1] [*Copy*].

*York-Buildings, January* 31, 1698–9.

Sir,—Having been acquainted by Mr Lorrain,[2] the bearer, with his purpose (God favouring it) of consecrating the remainder of his life to His service in the Church, by entring into Holy Orders, I take the liberty (at his request) of notifying the same to you, and my having given him (as far as that is of any moment) my full assent thereto; with the addition of telling you that he has now continued more than 20 years (and still does) in the same relation to me, and under the same character for his qualifications, sobriety, diligence, and integrity which I on another occasion very justly gave him (to his Grace my Lord Archbishop) about 4 years since; and shall be glad of any office of kindness you may have room of shewing him with his Grace on this; remaining with very great respect, Reverend Sir, Your humble and most affectionate servant,

S. Pepys.

103 [MS. i. 128]. Mr Burchett[3] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Admiralty Office, February* 21, 1698–9.

Sir,—There being frequent occasions for my Lords of the Admiralty to have recourse, in the businesse of their Office, to matters that have been transacted in the two last Reignes, and their Lordships finding themselves in want of the entry-bookes of your publick letters, during your being Secretary

[1] See note on p. 132 above. The endorsement shews that Mr Gibson was chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[2] Paul Lorrain was Pepys's translator and copyist. He was acting in that capacity as late as 1700, and possibly until his patron's death in 1703; but he carried out his intention of taking Orders and became Ordinary of Newgate. In the *D.N.B.* (xxxiv. 140) this appointment is assigned to September 1698, but Pepys's letter shews that at that date he was not yet ordained. The letter from Lorrain himself, printed in ii. 119 below, makes it clear that he was appointed to Newgate in November 1700.

[3] Josiah Burchett, Pepys's clerk, discharged by him in disgrace in 1687, was now Secretary of the Admiralty. A fair copy of some of the letter-books referred to was until lately at the Admiralty and is now in the Public Record Office, but Pepys retained the original books for the time of his two Secretaryships, and they are now in the Pepysian Library.

of the Admiralty, which they think ought to remaine as records in this Office, have therefore commanded mee to signify their desire to you that you will lett them have the sayd bookes; in order whereunto, I desire you will please to lett mee know when I may putt you to the trouble of attending you. I am with true respect, Sir, Your most faithfull and most humble servant,

J. Burchett.

104 [MS. i. 121]. Dr Gale[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*York, March* 18, 1698[–9].

Honoured Sir,—I thanck you for Dr Bentlye's booke[2] by our car. Upon receipt of it, I returned the Dr my thancks by Mr Mortlack; for I supposed it came by that hand, not having any letter or other indication to lead me to the donor.

Sir, I was much joyed at the first sight of your letter; it gave me the satisfaction of knowing the state of yourself and friends about you. Long since I ordered a certein agent of myne to enquire at your hous of your health; and not long since I gave you my service by Monsieur Du Gallineire,[3] though I somewhat question whether that letter came to him, for not remembring the street where Monsieur Du-G. liveth, I ordered that letter to be left at Dr L'Ortie's, his friend.

The distance of your poor friend at York is as litle to his content as you are kindly pleased to intimate it is to you. But he knowing that he well deserved a real banishment, doth meekly accept of this. 'Tis realy too long (and it would by noe meanes be agreable) to tell you what an impertinent, unscholarlike, unstudying, bookeless sort of life I live here. I shall shortly forget those names (indeed I had forgot them) which you soe roundly reckon up. But when I get into the South (for I will say soe in spight of all my countrymen, who reckon this towne to be sout[h]ward, and talk much of the people of the North about Durham), when I get into the South, which I hope will be shortly after Pentecost (then my residence

[1] Now Dean of York; see p. 142 above.

[2] Probably Bentley's *Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris*, which appeared in March 1699, in reply to Boyle's attack.

[3] On Monsieur Dégalénière, see p. 239 below.

and preaching will be over, I shall be refresht and revived in many things which now decay and languish. I am exceeding glad that our friends lately travailing are returned, to your full satisfaction, and I pray you lett them know that people in this northern climate cannot, though gladly they would, make such quick toures.

I bless God, I have had my health very well here, and want nothing but what can noe w[h]ere be had but in that paradise which lookes into the Thames near the Water-gate in York-buildings. Well, I will flatter myself with hopes of getting you down hither to spend your winter here (did not you and Mr Evilyn once promise that?) what then can we want? *συμφιλολογήσομεν* most sweetly. As I am a true man, I am truly sorrey for any crosses happend to our dear friend Mr Evilyn[1] God send him ease and quiet, and make his later dayes as serene as I suppose his yonger were. The quarrel betwixt Mr Boyle and Dr Bently I abhominated from the first. I like it not better now. Soe much as I have read of the book gives me the same idea that you have of it. I am told that Dr Montague will be Bishop of Worcester;[2] when that shal happen, might not a friend of yours hope to be removed southward to Trin. Coll. Pray, Sir, as from yourself move Mr Evilyn to lett a word fall to his Grace of Cant[erbury] in favour of the premisses. Sir, I borrow largely of you,—you will very much oblige me by letting Mr Hewers know that I often remember him (with the rest of our Yorkbuilding-friends) and heartly pray for his better health. Dear Sir, I am, and ever shall be, Your very affectionate friend and humble servant, TH. GALE.

My eldest son is now at Oxford; is intended by me for France about June.

Sir Robert Southwell's Quæry, — quoted often by Hollingshed.[3]

[1] Evelyn's only surviving son was seriously ill, and died on March 24.

[2] The see of Worcester became vacant by the death of Stillingfleet on March 27. He was succeeded by William Lloyd, who was translated from Lichfield and Coventry, but Dr John Mountagu, the Master of Trinity, was consoled with the Deanery of Durham.

[3] This sentence is added in Pepys's hand.

105 [MS. i. 130]. Dr Charlett[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

[*Univ: Coll.*,] *March* 31, 1699.

Sir,—I was in hopes to have sent you some sheets of Euclid in Gr. Lat., but the bookseller who pretended to undertake, wanted courage for such an attempt, though Mr Hudson[2] very frankly offered to go half charges, and I ventured to engage the University for one hundred copys, my project being (which to me seemd as cleare as any proposition in the Elements) to disperse 500, one hundred for each University, another for London, a 4th and 5th for France and Holland, where I thought they might change for some of theyr best and most salable books, in way of trade, in one twelve months time. But this scheme would not be admitted entrance, so instead of that you have something I suppose published here by some of your parish clerks brought you by the waggon.

When you see Dr Sloane,[3] I expect to be laught at about Euclid, but neither the Deane of Christ Church[4] nor I were deceaved by those gentlemen of trade, but the Warden of All Souls, who has had not much experience of these mysterys,[5] had a mind to discourse about it.

Dr Wallis has now finisht his third volume,[6] which he intends to present to you in the large paper, and is a fit present to any Prince. He has published there a famous letter of the French Ambassador in Poland, which he decyphered not long since, the explaining of which cost him so much pains. He gives you the key and all his method and art to unravell it.[7] This good old gentleman is now as fresh and vigorous for any new undertaking (of any sort) as if he had never put pen to paper,

[1] See note on p. 70 above.

[2] John Hudson, the classical scholar, who was at this time Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford, of which Dr Arthur Charlett was Master.

[3] See note on p. 104 above.

[4] Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church 1689–1710.

[5] Lawrence Finch, at this time Warden of All Souls, was not distinguished for learning or scholarship.

[6] The third volume of Wallis's collected mathematical works appeared in 1699.

[7] After the Revolution Dr Wallis had been appointed to decipher secret correspondence on behalf of William III.

and I know he longs to be at Euclid, though he pretends to me he intends to play all the Easter holydays if I do not find him work. Mr Gale[1] has promised to eat with me at five this evening, where the Warden of All Souls, Dr Wallis, Dr Gregory,[2] and Mr Tanner[3] are to meet him. We shall not fail to remember in our conversation Mr Pepys and the Deane of York.[4]

This morning was a meeting of some of the Delegates[5] to prepare our accounts for adjusting the price of Dr Morison's Herbal,[6] which is now finished. I should be glad to know whether you have the former or do desire this volume. They are very large, the prime costs will come to 2000*l.*; we shall give the interest to the widow in order to make the book cheap. It has been a very great charge to the University. I have writ twice to our excellent freind Mr Hatton since I heard from him; I hope he is well.

Dr Hicks' Northern Grammars[7] go on apace, and will make a noble volume. I must always thank you for your countenance to Mr Isted, and am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

Ar: Charlett.

106 [MS. i. 131]. Dr Charlett[8] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

[*Univ. Coll.*,] *May* 15, 1699.

Honored Sir,—Dr Wallis is not a little pleased to find himselfe esteemed by Mr Pepys, and therefore 'tis the lesse

[1] Probably Roger Gale the antiquary, eldest son of the Dean of York.

[2] Probably David Gregory the astronomer; he published an edition of Euclid in 1703.

[3] See note on p. 105 above.

[4] See note on p. 142 above.

[5] *I.e.* of the Oxford Press.

[6] Robert Morison, the Professor of Botany at Oxford, died in 1683 as the result of an accident. He left his *Plantarum Historia Universalis Oxoniensis* unfinished, but it was completed in 1699, at the request of the University, by Jacob Bobart the younger, who had succeeded him in the Chair.

[7] The best known work of Dr George Hickes, the nonjuring Bishop of Thetford, was his *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus*, which appeared from the Oxford University Press in one large folio volume in 1703–5.

[8] See p. 171 above.

wonder that he was concerned to receave your sentiments of his performances.

The old gentleman having deposited his little representative in my custody, I went to tell him that being going into the country, I must leave his grandson to keep house. I found him very busy in writing a long letter, which he bid me read. Being pleased with it, I desired a copy, which he readily granted, which being a diversion to me, I thought it might be so to you, and therefore make use of your hand to present this inclosed to Captain Hatton, as a present from a very dutifull humble servant of his, a particular acquaintance of Mr Isted's, who has transcribed it.

I must desire both you and him not to shew it to Dr Bently;[1] to any other freind you are at liberty. I have nothing of my own to present Mr Pepys, but the best prayers, best wishes, and best services will be ever at his command from, Honored Sir, Your most obedient servant, AR: CHARLETT.

I sent yesterday to Cambrige *Horace*, collated with seaven Oxford MSS. very accurately by Mr Creech[2] and Mr Dennison. Mr Gale and I remembred you on Sunday at Dr Wallis'. That gentleman does his University great credit.

*May* 17.

Upon Mr Wanly's[3] shewing his Greek MS. of Anthems, Mr Gale assures us that he gave a letter of the same nature to his own Library at Trinity,[4] and accordingly has sent to borrow it for Dr Wallis, as also in his name we have sent to Dr Covel,[5] who can sing them, to turne some one tune into our modern notes upon five lines.

I have sent you a copy of a letter from Bremen directed to our Vice Chancellor. Mr Wanly is ashamed the other is so short. I think in some of our Public Statutes the prices (?) of those times are most authentically stated.

[1] See note on p. 101 above.
[2] On Thomas Creech the translator, see *D.N.B.*, xiii. 64.
[3] See note on p. 104 above.
[4] Roger Gale left many of his MSS. to Trinity College, Cambridge.
[5] Probably Dr John Covel, the Master of Christ's.

Mr Hudson will be very ready to execute any commands of Mr Pepys. He was lately in London, and was going in my name to wait upon you, but diverted.

Dr Hicks is now with us, very busy in promoting the Saxon Learning. He has appointed to see me at night; when we meet I am sure we must talk of your selfe.

Mr Isted is very sensible of the several honors you do him. I hope you will let him shew your nephew our Public Act.

Dr Wallis complains often of decays, but none else can perceave them. I found him last night out of order, but left him very chearfull and bright. Upon my telling him that I intended to write to you this day, he presented his service to you most affectionately, and if you will pardon the communicating his own words, It was a great reproach to the Government that Mr Pepys was not at the head of the Navy Board.

On Sunday he shewd Mr Gale and me a letter of Secretary Windebanck's after his flight into France,[1] which he then decyphered, of which he was not a little proud; but he told us that his little grandson of Mag. Coll., young Blincow,[2] had done it most exactly without any assistance from him, adding that his two grandaughters would decypher any of the ordinary cyphers used in those days by the Ministers of State, but he sayd the present French Ministers had improved that art to another degree of perfection, which made decyphering very tedious and painfull. I guesse he has presented it to the King, the youth having at large drawn out the key.

The Dr wishes much to go once more to London, but Dr Gregory and other physitians[3] will not consent. I have offered to go with him by water, but he asked very merrily, how we should come back. I told him we would land at York Stairs. Perhaps this jest would prove earnest if the wether was very warme. But the Dr has complained of gravel several days, and I feare he will drop of[f] on a sudden.

[1] Sir Francis Windebank, a Secretary of State to Charles I, fled to France in 1640 to escape the vengeance of the Long Parliament.

[2] William Blencowe, the third son of Sir John Blencowe the judge, by Anne, the eldest daughter of Dr Wallis. "Young Blincow" was at this time an undergraduate at Magdalen College, Oxford. On Dr Wallis's death in 1703 he succeeded him as decipherer to the Government.

[3] David Gregory the astronomer was an M.D. of Oxford,

He says 83 is an incurable distemper. I beleive Death will no more surprise him than a proposition in Mathematicks, being extremely easy in all his outward circumstances of children and grandchildren. The grandson of his own name in my Lodgins is heir to 2000*l.* per annum in this county.[1]

Our freinds at last among the Commons got a kind-clause for the *two University Presses* upon honor if that Bill had passed. I confesse I labored to gain the same for the *Royal Society*, but 'tis much better that the whole Act is layd aside; though I hope having been once admitted into theyr favorable thoughts by a majority of 65 against 35, we may another Sessions be remembred again, for Dr Wallis and I do never forget to refresh the memorys of some Members with our memorials of our greivances, however apt they are to forget us.

The Vice Chancellor is altogether a stranger to such circular letters; as you have an opportunity among the ministers of the French Church,[2] 'tis possible you may learn whether it be counterfeit or real, etc.

I must ever thank you for your civilitys to Mr Tanner[3] and Mr Isted, and beg you to present my best services to Mr Hatton, Dr Sloane,[4] and Mr Jackson.[5]

107 [MS. i. 132]. Dr Gale[6] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Yorke, May* 27, 1699.

Dear Sir,—I received your six papers and your letter and the Epistle to Dr Bentley;[7] the two last were much to my

[1] Dr Wallis's only son John had married the daughter of John Harris of Soundess House, Oxfordshire, and through her the grandson inherited a fine estate.

[2] Through his French father-in-law, Alexander St Michel, Pepys had been associated with the French Church in the Savoy, and he continued to subscribe to it until his death.

[3] See note on p. 105 above.

[4] See note on p. 104 above.

[5] Pepys's nephew.

[6] On Dr Gale, the Dean of York, see note on p. 59 above.

[7] "A Chronological Account of the Life of Pythagoras, and of other Famous Men his Contemporaries. With an Epistle to . . . Dr Bentley about Porphyry's and Iamblichus's Lives of Pythagoras," by William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, published in 1699.

satisfaction. In the Epistle I found a notion concerning Iamblichus, who you know wrote the life of Pyth[agoras] in Greek, which life I have long since done into Latine. The notion of the Bishop of Lichtf[ield] is this. Iamblichus writ that life with a designe to lessen our Saviour and his miracles, etc. This very notion I had long ago entred upon the first page of my Iamblichus;[1] and I acquainted you with my thoughts about it; and perhaps you may remember this. I now see that what I was unwilling to tell this sceptical age (and which caused me to throw-aside the collections made about Iamblichus soe long agoe) is now, in English, made publick.

For the vi papers I thanck you; you have had a mighty toile in that matter, and you have mett with what was to be expected from men whose education is vile, whose soules never were in the *feilds of truth* before they came into their bodyes, though Plato sayth *all soules* spaciate[2] there; nor will, I fear, ever return thether. *O seculum infelix!* O generation of caterpillars! God assist you! You will finde strings at a distance jar upon your striking upon this. The same practices are in very many other bodyes. All these will raise their bristles. I am sorry that you should meete with such treatment; but I prophesyed to you what would be your fate. I was the abler to prophesy because I had, I knew, others that had mett with the like. Remember the case of Gresham-college Professors at the return of Charles the 2nd; Mr Abraham Hill,[3] and Dr Hooke,[4] and Mr Henshaw,[5] and Sir J. Hoskins[6] all knew it.

My residence determines to morrow because my *last sermon* could not be made till to morrow; though the eating residence terminated some few days agoe. I goe for a few dayes to see

[1] Dr Gale had published a work on Iamblichus in 1678, and he left in manuscript an edition of "Iamblichus de Vita Pythagorae."

[2] "Spatiate" = range or wander.

[3] Treasurer of the Royal Society 1663–5 and 1697–1700.

[4] Curator of Experiments to the Royal Society, 1662; Professor of Geometry in Gresham College, 1665; Secretary of the Royal Society, 167[illegible] 82.

[5] Probably Thomas Henshaw, one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society.

[6] Sir John Hoskins, President of the Royal Society 1682–3, and Secretary 1685–7.

some smal concerns a litle further northward. At my return you shall hear from me, and more certainly, of my *iter australe*. I returne your kinde remembrances and those of our-your friends, by the name of the *Round Table*, at my poor[1] table. You will oblige me by letting them know it. Sir, I am, in all possible respect, Yours to command, T. Gale.

108 [MS. i. 134]. Dr Charlett[2] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

[*Univ. Coll.*], *June* 22, 1699.

Honored Sir,—I am in haste to returne you my humble thanks for your very many expressions of respect and affection in sundry instances, and will still talk of acknowledging them all with Dr Wallis at York Stairs.[3] In the mean time I must pay them by the hands of a gentleman who has exceedingly endeared us all to him by his regular, virtuous, and learned conversation during his abode here, which has been most agreable to the best persons of this place, to whose favor his neare relation to your selfe gave him a very early accesse.[4]

I am methinks mighty willing to favor Mr Isted with his acquaintance, by your leave and permission, but should not have so long delayd my most affectionate thanks for your constant civilitys and condescentions to that young gentleman, so deare to me on many accounts, but on none so much as that Mr Pepys, Mr Hatton, Mr Sloane,[5] allow him liberty to come sometimes to theyr conversation. I have this moment awaked Mr Wanly to put him in mind of your commands; all the answer I can get is, *That he has much, very much, to say to Mr Pepys*, which I suppose he will soon reduce to writing.

I am sure I ought to say the same, but I will desire Mr Gale to be my interpreter of the most fervent and profound respects due to you from, Honored Sir, Your most affectionately obedient humble servant, Ar: Charlett.

[1] MS. "power."
[2] See note on p. 70 above.
[3] See p. 174.
[4] The reference is to Roger Gale, the son of the Dean of York. His mother was a daughter of Thomas Pepys of Impington, Samuel's cousin.
[5] See note on p. 104 above.

109 [MS. i. 133]. John Evelyn the Grandson[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Oxon:* 12° *Jul:* [16]99.

Dignissime Vir,—Quod mei absentis meminisse (ut ex Avi litteris intelligo) tibi cæterisque egregiis viris non injucundum videtur, totum id benevolentiæ vestræ, non meis meritis attribuendum est. Ingratissimus autem, et tali in futurum honore minimè dignus essem, si pro illo, quo me jam prosequuti estis, debitas, immo necessarias gratias non referrem; tanti enim vestram approbationem facio, adeo me doctissima consuetudo (quamdiu eâ frui licuit, utinamque diutius licuisset) oblectavit; et jam quoties suavissima ista convivia apud te acta in mentem veniunt, non mediocre mihi gaudium ex tam gratâ oritur recordatione; ut si quid aliud, allicere aut inducere animum ad relinquendam Academiam posset, id potissimum apud me valeret, ut ad domum scilicet tuam facilior aditus pateret; et optatâ adeo consuetudine major fruendi copia daretur. Ad relinquendam Academiam, quid autem dixi, cum alteram Musarum sedem alterâ non minus præclarâ commutarem magis, quam relinquerem? Quid enim in artibus et scientiis pulcrum aut utile existit, quod in te et literatissimo tuorum convivarum cætu non viget et elucet? Quid dulce habent, quod ex tam floridis ingeniis excerpi, aut colligi nequeat? Quid denique memorabile agitur, quod vos latet? Ita ut mensa tua non (ut plerumque fit) corpori tantum sed et animo jucundum præbeat cibum.

Scilicet hic arcana Dei mysteria pandit
Smith,[2] laus virtutis semper in ore pio.
Omnia judicio Bentley[3] perpendit acuto,
Illum scriptorum σφάλματα nulla latent.

[1] John Evelyn's grandson had gone up from Eton to Balliol in the preceding February. He succeeded his grandfather at Wotton, and in 1713 was made a baronet. The letter is endorsed "a Latin letter of great ingenuity and respect." The letter is very clearly and carefully written, and the spelling and punctuation of the MS. are exactly followed in the text.

[2] See note *D.N.B.*, liii. 131.

[3] See note *D.N.B.*, iv. 306.

Hatton [1] naturas herbarum callet et usus,
Et quantas vires parvula planta tenet.
Hortum Evelyn [2] tradit rectè præcepta colendi,
Et scitè condit, quas habet ille, dapes.
Albucknot [3] meritum numeris assignat honorem,
Nil prope non illos solvere posse docens.
Dos sua cuique horum ; sed nulla scientia Peppys
Te latet, O docto digne præesse choro.
Hic esset dominam,[4] eximio quæ vendicat inter
Vos sedem ingenio, grande silere nefas.
Divinum tales olim audivere Platonem,
Aurem præberet talibus ipse Plato.
Talis Athena fuit, redigi si posset in unam,
Talis Pieridum turba novena foret.
Sic grata exoritur doctæ mixtura loquelæ,
Symbola dum confert mutuo quisque sua.

Quæ non modo ad privatas et publicas supplendum lecturas, verum etiam ad ipsorum comitiorum desiderium compensandum abundè sufficerent. Nihil est igitur, cur de gradibus suscipiendis sollicitus sim, aut eos assequi posse sperem, priusquam vos optimos in rebus litterariis judices consuluero, quibus me vestris comprobare calculis si visum fuerit, tum demum mihi ipsi nullo non dignus, nullum non assecuturus videbor. Vale! Tibi devotissimus, et egregiæ tuæ consuetudinis cupidissimus, J. Evelyn.

110 [MS. i. 135]. Mr Roger Gale [5] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Amsterdam*, $\frac{\textit{September } 22}{\textit{October } 2}$, 1699.

Honoured Sir,—My small tour I could not finish so soon as I designed, it having cost me very near five weeks. Sir,

[1] The Captain Hatton who is frequently referred to in the correspondence.
[2] John Evelyn, his grandfather.
[3] Probably John Arbuthnot the physician ; see *D.N.B.*, ii. 62.
[4] Possibly a reference to Mrs Skynner, who kept house for Pepys in York Buildings.
[5] See note on p. 172 above.

you may assure yourself that in it I neglected none of your commands, yet have been so unhappy as not to performe one of them. All the world grows so very much French here, that you shall meet with nothing else almost in any bookseller's. In this city, where there are two hundred of that trade, there are but two that have almost any thing to do with the learned languages; the rest shall tell you they are French booksellers, for Latin you must go to Mr Wetstein or Wuesberg. At Antwerp I was with Moretus, Plantyn's [1] heir and successor in his presse but nothing else; neither had he any thing but what might serve the Jesuits' schools, or the priests there. At Loven,[2] where they value themselves extremely upon their Civil and Cannon Law, and bragg of thousands in their University that study those Facultys alone, they hardly had ever heard of Marculfus.[3] At Brussels all was French again, and beyond that you can expect little learning, and I don't remember I saw a bookseller's shop from thence till I came to Cleve. At Leyden I heard of Rivinus [4] and Kortholtus,[5] but being designed for an auction in November next, and already catalogued, I could not persuade the owner to sell me them. If I can then command them, they shall certainly be at your service. I hope my long absence has been no inconvenience to you, in stopping the closing of your collection of titles. I have found here at my return a pretty good number of them, which I hope will make some amends for my delay; and the two or 3 days I have yet good, I shall employ in looking after more. I design to send them next week, having an opportunity of doing it by a gentleman that will deliver them to you as soon as possible at London. What they will all stand me in I am yet uncertain, but it will be

[1] The famous printer John Moerentorf (Moretus) was Plantin's son-in-law, and the museum in his house at Antwerp is called the Musée Plantin-Moretus.

[2] Louvain.

[3] A French monastic writer, *fl.* 660.

[4] An illustrated System of Botany, by Augustus Quirinus Rivinus of Leipsic, was published in three Parts, 1690–9.

[5] Christian Kortholt, Professor of Greek at the University of Rostock, and afterwards of Theology at Kiel. His *Tractatus de Calumniis Paganorum in Veteres Christianos* was published in 1698, but it is not clear to which of his numerous works the text refers.

inconsiderable, severall of them being given me. I have two particularly, one of Savoy, the other of Piedmont, as fine pieces in *taille douce*, I think, as ever I saw. I shall take occasion of presenting my service to you again, with the pictures, when, Sir, I shall give you a farther account of what I have done. In the mean time, with many thanks to you for the honour of your last, I subscribe myselfe, Your most humble, obliged servant, R. Gale.

I have opened my letter again to let you know I have just now Marculfus *de formulis* [1] sent me.

111 [MS. i. 136]. Mr James Houblon [2] to Mr Jackson [*Holograph*].

[*Tuesday morning, October* 3, 1699.]

Sir,—I am prevented by buisiness, or I had wayted on you my self with this paper to have explained it to you. There's too much occasion for it, I fear; therefore command my attendance when you please. It would be a perticular sattisfaction to me if this shoud happen to be any addition to the better instructions you have from other hands for your guidance in your travells, in which I wish you all manner of success, being, Sir, Your very affectionate humble servant,

James Houblon, Jr.

112 [MS. i. 137]. Mr James Houblon's Instructions accompanying the preceding [*Holograph*].

[*London, October,*[3] 1699.]

Sir,—To comply with your commands, you have here in writing the tour we traced out in our last conversation, as proper for you to make in your intended travells.

You having already pass't by Dover to Calais, I shoud

[1] In the 7th century the monk Marculfus compiled a formulary for guidance in drawing up public and private documents; it was first published by Bignon at Paris in 1613.

[2] James Houblon the merchant, son of Pepys's friend Sir James.

[3] So the endorsement; the instructions themselves are dated September 2, in error.

think it now more adviseable that you embark at Rye for Diep, which you will find the easiest and shortest passage to Paris, and you will see Rouen in your way. From Paris going the direct road by the Diligence Coach, you will reach Lyons in 4 or 5 days, but I am of opinion that riding post, considering 'tis the most expeditious, is the cheapest as well as best way of travelling.

To pass the Alps into Italy you go from

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lyons | to | These places are a little out of the direct road. |
| | | Geneva |
| Chamberry | over | |
| Mount Cenis | to | |
| Turin | | |
| Verue | | |
| Cassall [Casale Monferrato ?] | | |
| | | Verceille [Vercelli] |
| | | Lago Maggiore |
| Milan | | |
| Pavia | within 5 mile is the noble Carthusian Convent. | |
| Piacenza | | |
| Parma | | |
| | | Reggio |
| | | Modena |
| Mantua | | |
| Verona | | |
| Vicenza | | |
| Padua | | |
| Venice | | |

I guess you may in six weeks make this tour from Paris to Venice, and if you ride post or *cambiatura*,[1] you will have the more time to see those places where there is any thing curious to detain you. Though you will not I beleive be desirous to stay above a day or two in any of the before-

[1] *Cambiatura* was the Italian system for travelling post; it is described on p. 187 below.

mentiond towns except at Turin, some you will only pass throw, that you may the sooner get to Venice, where you will injoy a part of the Carnevall.

I calculate you cannot be less than 10 days going from Venice to Rome, so you will be necessitated to depart before the midle of December if you intend to be at Rome at the opening of the Jubilee. In your way you'l pass throw many good towns, but not any except Bologna and Loretto that deserves your notice so far as to detain you any time.

| | |
|---|---|
| From Venice | you return to |
| Padua | or thence to |
| Rovigo | |
| Ferrara | |
| | Modena, if you did not make it in your way between Parma and Mantua. |
| Bologna | |
| Imola | |
| Faenza | |
| Forli | |
| Cesena | Here you pass the Rubicon. |
| Rimini | |
| | St Marino, a little Republick. |
| Pesaro | |
| Fano | |
| Siniguglia | |
| Ancona | |
| Loretto | |
| Recanati | |
| Macerata | |
| Tolentino | |
| Foligno | |
| Spoleto | |
| Terni | The famous cascade 4 miles distant. |
| | Here you come upon the Via Flaminia. |
| ROME | |

When you are at Rome you will not forget to visit the pleasant villas at Tivoli, Frescati, Castel Gondolpho, Albano, etc., and I beleive your curiosity will lead you to Civita Vecchia, and to view the new works at the Port of Anzo ;[1] this last will not be much out of your way when you goe to Naples, to which place you ought to begin your journey at least three weeks or a month before Easter, that you may returne to Rome timely to be present at the ceremonies in the Holy Weeke, for it will cost you ten days travelling to Naples and back the ordinary way in calashes, besides the time it will require to go to Anzo, and you cannot propose to be less than a week at Naples if you intend to see all the curiosities in and about that famous citty.

You return the same road you went ; here you will find the Via Appia, but little else worth your observation in the whole journey, and your accomodations at the inns the worst in Italy. You may very well reside at Rome till June, when the heats begin. And having made the tour already markt out to you, you may continue it thus :

| | |
|---|---|
| From Rome | to |
| Viterbo | |
| Monte fiascone | |
| Bolsena | |
| Aquapendente | |
| St. Quirico [Giuncarico ?] | |
| Sienna | |
| Florence | |
| Pisa | |
| Legorne | |
| Luca | |
| Massa Carrara | Marble quarries. |
| Sarzano | |
| Lerici | where you may have passage in a feleuca along the Levant Riviera,[2] to |

[1] Anzio.
[2] Riviera di Levante.

| | |
|---|---|
| Genoa | And hence also in feleuca you may coast the Ponant Riviera,[1] on which lyes Savona, Final,[2] etc. |
| Nizza [Nice] | |
| Isles of Heyres [Hyères] | |
| Tolon [Toulon] | From whence by land to |
| Aix | |
| Orange | |
| Avignon | |
| Nismes | Pont du guard |
| Beaucaire | |
| Salon | |
| Marseille | |

Here you will probably meet with some merchant ship or galleys bound along the coast of Spain to Cadiz. But if you are unwilling to hassard the getting your passage at Marseille, and resolve to imbarke at Legorne or Genoa (and indeed at one or other of these places you will more readily find such a conveyance), then you must change your tour, and instead of passing Mountcenis to Turin, go down the River Rhosne to

| | |
|---|---|
| Vienne | |
| Valence | |
| Mont le mart [Montelimar] | |
| Viviers | |
| Pont St. Esprit | |
| Orange | |
| Avignon | and thence to |
| Nismes | |
| Montpellier | |
| Arles | |
| Aix | |
| Marseille | |
| Tolon [Toulon] | where embark for |
| Genoa | and thence to |

[1] Riviera di Ponente.
[2] Finalborgo.

Novi
Alexandria [Alessandria]
Ast [Asti]
Turin and so continue on your tour as before, and when you come to Legorne, take shipping for the coast of Spain. But if it shoud fall out, by your late departure or otherwise, that you are streightened for time to get to Rome by the Jubile, you may as above go down the Rhosne, embark at Marseille or Tolon, and coast the whole Riviera, staying at Genoa a convenient time, land at Lerici, pass throw Massa to Luca, Pisa, Legorne, and Florence, to Rome, whence to Loretto and along the Roman coast to Bologna, make the reverse tour of Lombardy, and so pass over the Appenins to Genoa. By Novi or to Legorne by Pontremoli, and [at] either place embark-for the coast of Spain, and 'tis not unlikely but you will meet with a ship that will touch at Barcelona, Alicant, Malaga, and Cadiz, from whence you cannot fail of a conveyance by sea to Lisbon. And thence you may travell by land, taking Coimbra, O Porto, Vigo, and other ports of Galitia in your way, to Corunna, and there embark in the packet boat for Falmouth, and view our western ports in your way to London.

But shoud your inclinations lead you to inlarge the compass of your travells, and to see the western ports of France, you might from Corunna pass along the coast of Biscay, either by land or sea, to

Bilbao and so on to
St. Sebastian's
Fonterabia
Bayonne
Bourdeaux
Rochefort
Rochelle Isle of Ree
Nants, if you go by land from Rochell.
Bell Isle
Port Louis
Brest

Morlaix
St Malo's — thence by sea to Plimouth, etc., or by land to
Caen
Honfleur
Havre de Grace
Diep
LONDON.

In Italy you'l find all manner of conveniencies for travelling, as by post or *cambiatura* on horses and in calashes

Best in mountanous countries. → Horses, Coaches, Calashes, Litters } to be hird by the day or journey, and you may be treated on the road into the agreement, by the voiturin or messenger.

By *cambiatura*, you change horses at every stage, as by post; you pay 3 giuliers[1] for a horse and 8 giuliers for a calash with two horses, and giving your guide a small *bona manica*, you may ride or drive as fast as by post, though this way is not nere so chargeable.

Throughout Italy you are treated *per testa*[2] or ordinary, generally at 3 guiliers for your dinner and 4 giuliers for your supper, but in some places you pay 4 and 5 giuliers a meal.

In most great towns you will find antiquaries to shew you the curiosities of the place, and at Rome for a pistoll you may have one who will attend you all the time you are there. For your better directions in these and all other matters relating to your travells, you must give me leave to referr you to the severall voyages and letters that have been lately publisht. I am, Your most humble servant, J. H.

[1] The value of the *giulio* was 56 modern centesimi, or rather more than half a lira, but in 1699 its purchasing power would be greater. The coin was so called because it was struck by Pope Julius II (1503-1513).

[2] Per head.

113 [MS. i. 139]. Dr Wallis[1] to Mr Pepys [*Copy*].

*Oxford, October* 10, 1699.

Sir,—Mr Glyd having been for some while with me, and being now returning to London, is willing to bring you a letter from me. And though I have not much to impart that may deserve giving you the trouble of a letter, I write however to give you thanks for the favorable character (I understand from him) you are ready to give me, and the kind thoughts you have of me, which I wish I may deserve.

Our late eclipse, September 13, I understand was not to be seen at London, by reason of a thick fog all the morning. But eclipse and fog both together were not enough to induce the dismall darkness that (it seems) some persons did (vainly) fancy was to be. The like happened at Cambridge, where notwithstanding the fog and the eclipse Mr Wanly[2] sends word that he was writing all the while without disturbance. At Greenwich I hear Mr Flamsteed[3] observed the end of it (but no more) agreable to his calculation. At Canterbury it was seen (I think) all the while; but whether with any particular observations or not I cannot tell. At Stoke near Guildford in Surrey it was seen by fits between clouds. Mr Glyd says he saw it in the West of England. And Mr Marston near Banbury; where finding the sun-shine seemed somewhat more dim than before, looking-out to see what was the matter, they found there was an eclipse. So that though some would fancy there was none (because they saw not the dismal darkness that was expected), 'twill at least be allowed (from so much evidence) that there was an eclipse. At Oxford we had as clear a view of it as we could expect; and Dr Gregory made very particular observations of it, which will be published.[4] It began a little before 8 in the morning, and continued till near eleven. It extended to 10 digits and half, or near so much. It was somewhat greater than that of (what they called)

[1] See note on p. 107 above. [2] See note on p. 104 above.
[3] See note on p. 136 above.
[4] Dr Gregory's observations were published in *Philosophical Transactions*, xxi. 330 (*D.N.B.*, xxiii. 94).

Black Monday 1654; that being almost 10 digits, this more than 10 digits. But it was bright sun-shine all the while, only a little dusky about 9 a clock; but so little as to be scarce observable if not expected. Not more than of a very thin cloud, through which the sun-shine does appear with the distinct figure of the window-squares upon the ground within doors. It was much darker at 3 in the afternoon, from a small cloud which was attended with a very little rain. It is supposed that in Sweden, Norway, and perhaps the North of Scotland, it might be total. But if so, it cannot reasonably be thought to be dismally dark, when as the sun (even so) will not be more hid from us than within a few minutes after sun-set. Excuse the impertinences of this, from, Yours to serve you, JOHN WALLIS.

114 [MS. ii. 3]. LORD REAY[1] TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Culcairne, October* 10, 1699.

HONOURED SIR,— Iwould have written to you severall tymes as I promised, to give you an account of all the information I could make in those things you recomended to me, but that I was so harrassed with troublesome affairs since I came to this kingdome, that I had no tyme till of late to inquire into them. Since, I have made some, but can't promise the'l answer your expectation, though I spared no pains in informing myself of all those that either by experience or learning could have any knowledge in them, and, in a word, I informed myself of all those I knew had any curiosity that way, and waite only for a copy of a letter about the second sight my Lord Tarbat[2] promised me, to give you an account of all. I have spoke to several that pretended they seen them, but were so ignorant that I could make nothing of them, but I forbear this till I write to you more at large, and assure you that none is more inclined to serve you or more ready to obey your commands than, Sir, Your most humble servant, REAY.

[1] See note on p. 212 below.

[2] On George Mackenzie, first Viscount Tarbat, and afterwards Earl of Cromarty, see *D.N.B.*, xxxv. 145.

When you'r pleased to write to me, direct it to the care of Mr Robert Menzies, to be found att the Bill Chamber in Edinburgh.

115 [MS. i. 151]. Copies of Sir James Houblon's Letters of Recommendation given to Mr Jackson for his Journey towards Rome.

*Londres, ce* $\frac{10}{20}$ *Octobre*, 1699.

Monsieur,—La presente vous sera rendue par Monsr. Jean Jackson, que vous prions d'avoir pour recommandé, et de luy rendre tous les services que vous pourrez. Nous vous en aurons obligation; estant, Monsieur, Vos tres-humbles serviteurs, Tourton et Guigues, Londres.

Monsieur, Monsieur Jean André Tourton,
à Lion.

*Londres, ce* $\frac{10}{20}$ *Octobre*, 1699.

Messieurs,—Nous prenons la liberté de vous recommander Monsr. Jean Jackson, qui vous remettra la presente; vous priant luy rendre les services que vous pourrez. Nous vous en aurons une entiere obligation, et vous en témoignerons notre reconnoissance en toute occasion; estant toujours tres-parfaitement, Messieurs, Vos tres-humble serviteurs,
Tourton et Guigues.

Messieurs, Messieurs Giovanetty et
Guastaldo, Banquiers,
à Turin.

*Londra, a* 11 *d'Octobre*, 1699.

Signori de Berti, Questa vi sera reso dallo Signor John Jackson, gentilhuomo Inglese, chi va far il giro d'Italia; a'l suo arrivo in Venetia vi prego di servirlo in quel che potete

essendoli mio amico caro; per la posta vi scrivero piu ampiamente. Vi baccio li mani ed sono, Vostro servitor affett^mo.,

JA. HOUBLON, London.

Alli Signori Gl'heredi
del Signor Guiseppe de Berti,
in Venetia.[1]

*London, 11th October*, 1699.

SIRS,—This worthy gentleman, Mr John Jackson, is a particular friend and acquaintance. He is going to travell to Italy, and to make a tour there; and may possibly pass by Livorne in his return from Rome. If he do[e]s so, you will oblige me to patronize him and to protect him in whatsoever assistance and favors of yours he may want. I shall write you more particularly relating hereto by post. I am, Sirs, Your very humble servant, JA: HOUBLON.

To
Messrs Robert and Thomas Balle,
in Legorne.

*A Londres, ce 11^e Oct.*, 1699.

MONSIEUR,—Ce gentilhomme, Monsr. Jean Jackson, porteur de la presente, est fort de mes amis. Il va faire le tour d'Italie, et pretend passer à Rome une partie du Jubile, et à son retour venir voir votre ancienne and celebre ville de Marseilles, et de là passer en Espagne. A son arrivée je vous supplie de le proteger en ce qu'il aura de besoin, dont je vous auray une particuliere obligation, et vous serviray en pareille occasion et en toute autre; comme estant, Monsieur, Vôtre tres-humble et obeïssant serviteur, JA. HOUBLON.

Monsieur, Monsieur Victor de St Amand,
à Marseilles.
Par amy [ami].

[1] A memorandum on a slip of paper is inserted opposite this letter:
"Alli Signori Gl'heredi del Signor Guiseppe De Berti
Friday / Tuesday } Flanders In Venetia
To Messrs Robert and Thomas Balle
Monday and In
Thursday by France Livorno."
It probably refers to the postal dates and routes.

116 [MS. i. 140]. Sir James Houblon's[1] Letter of Credit[2] for Mr Jackson [*Holograph*].

*London, October* 11, 1699.

Sirs,—The bearer heerof, Mr John Jackson, is a gentleman for whom I have a greate kindnesse; his curiossitie and ernest desire to improve himselfe by travell hath led him to passe through France into Italy where, after he hath visited the several famous citties in his way to Venice, he intends to be at Rome at the Jubilee, and may passe to Genoa in his returne, and from thence or Marseille to Spain. What service you doe him I shall esteeme as done to myselfe. I am, Sirs, Your very humble servant, Ja. Houblon.

117 [MS. i. 141]. Sir James Houblon's List of Credits furnished to Mr Jackson.[3]

[*October* 12?, 1699.]

The creditts given Mr Jackson, viz:—

At

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lyons, | on Monsr. Jean André Tourton, for crowns, | | 200 |
| Turin, | on Messrs Giovanetty and Guastaldo, for ,, | | 200 |
| Venice, | on the heirs of Signor Giuseppe de Berti, bank duckets, | | 500 |
| Rome, Legorne | on Signor Domenico Francisco Rizzi. on Messrs Robert and Thomas Balle, who will suply the credit on the said Rizzi at Rome, | dollers, | 1000 |
| Genoa, | on Messrs Scudamore and Henshaw, | dollers, | 500 |
| Marseille, | on Monsieur Victor de St Amand, | crowns, | 500 |

[1] See note on p. 69 above.

[2] The letter was directed to Messrs Henshaw and Scudamore, at Genoa. There is a duplicate copy among the letters included in No. 115.

[3] This list appears to be in the handwriting of James Houblon the younger. Another copy is given in the MS. (i. 143) in the hand of one of Pepys's clerks.

118 [MS. i. 142]. Mr Jackson's Receipt for moneys supplied him for his Journey to Rome.

*October* 12, 1699.

Delivered to Mr Jackson att his goeing his journey towards Rome.

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| By Mr Hewer | 57½ pistolls at 17*s.* 3*d.* each, | 49 | 11 | 7 |
| | 13 more new pistolls at 18*s.* each, | 11 | 14 | 0 |
| | | 61 | 5 | 7 |
| By Mr Pepys, 13 new pistolls at 18*s.* 2*d.* each, | | 11 | 16 | 2 |
| | Totall – | 73 | 1 | 9 |
| [1] Miscast in Mr Hewer's gold, | | 00 | 02 | 1 |
| [1] Totall – | | 73 | 03 | 10 |

[1] *October* 12, 1699.

[1] Received then of my Uncle Mr Pepys at my setting-out this day upon my journy to Rome, in the severall species of gold coyne, at the values and by the hands above mentioned, the summe of seventy three pounds, three shillings, and tenpence upon account

£ s. d.
73 03 10

by mee,
John Jackson.

[2] *October* 12*th*, 1699—Received more in English money, five guineys,— making

£ s. d.
5 7 6

John Jackson.

[1] In Pepys's own hand, except the signature.
[2] In the hand of John Jackson.

119 [MS. i. 144]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys[1]

*Holograph*.

*Saturday, October* 14, 1699.
*Shoreham, 6 at night.*

Honoured Sir,—With all the advantage which Mr Hewer's kindness gave us in setting-out so early yesterday morning, wee arrived not here till past 8 at night, but very safe and well, I thank God. I found the master of the passage-boat at my inn, and disposed to sail with the first fair wind; but that being contrary, and so continuing, I am still detained here, and God knows how much longer I may be so. I have made a shift to while a way this day with unpacking and repacking my things to more advantage, and viewing what little there was to be seen of the town, etc.; but this being over, I fear I shall find every day I stay longer here more tiresome to me than my 50 miles riding yesterday. There is nothing like a gentleman in the town. Mr Luck, to whom Mr Sergeson[2] recommended me, is one of the principal, and very civil in his way, but I not being capable of accepting his offers of a dramm of cherry brandy or smoaking a pipe, our conversation was very soon at an end; and I have no thoughts of qualifying myselfe for resuming it.

'Twas a real affliction to me that the hurry of my departure allowed me not an opportunity of acknowledging in more particular manner my infinite obligations to you; but my hopes, Sir, are that you are in no doubt of my gratefull sense of them, of which I shall yet labour more fully to convince you by my conduct on this occasion.

The Custome-House-Officers unexpectedly interrupting me, I am obliged to break-off with begging your blessing and acceptance of my most humble duty, remaining, Honoured Sir, Your most obliged and most dutifull nephew,

J. Jackson.

[1] At the end of this letter is a note in Pepys's hand: "Answered to Shoreham the 17th.—Noe copy."

[2] Mr Charles Sergison, the Clerk of the Acts.

I begg the favour of your giving my humble service to Mrs Skynner,[1] and to Mr Hewer's[2] and Sir James Houblon's[3] familys, and the rest of my friends.

120 [MS. i. 145]. The Shoreham Coachman's Receipt to Mr Jackson for horse-hire.[4]

| | s | d |
|---|---|---|
| *October* 16*th*, 1699.—Received of Mr Jackson, twelve shillings and sixpence; being the full remainder of what was due to me for supplying him with two horses from London to New Shoreham. | 12 | 6 |

By mee, Thomas Bowman.

121 [MS. i. 146]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Shoreham, October* 16, 1699.
*Monday-Evening.*

Honoured Sir,—I am still unfortunately kept here by the perversness of the wind, which continues fixt at S.E. and by S., and finde abundant exercise for my patience. I am afraid to think of its resting in this corner so long as to give me opportunity of hearing from you here; yet lest it should, I begg the favour of your hazarding a line or two to me by the next post, directed either to my inn (the Garter), or to Mr Luck's, a shop-keeper just over against it. I hope it will bring me the glad tidings of your continuing in good health; which is all the trouble I propose to you in it. What commands you may have further for me, or my Lord of London's letters (if you have yet received them), will have a much

[1] See note on p. 136 above.
[2] On the intimate relations between Pepys and William Hewer, his former clerk, see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys, passim.*
[3] See note on p. 69 above.
[4] In John Jackson's hand, except the signature.

better chance for meeting me at Dr Shadwell's[1] at Paris. I am, with most profound respect, Your most dutifull Nephew,

J. Jackson.

Paris beggs leave to present his humble duty to you.[2]

122 [MS. i. 147]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Shoreham, Tuesday, October* 17, 1699.

Honoured Sir, —The wind coming-about this morning to the N.E., I was in great hopes wee should have gott off to day; but it soon returned again to the S., and left me under greater affliction than ever. They tell me 'tis now (about 7 in the evening) near due East; and though this affords but few points for our course, yet if it stands there, and the fair weather continues, I am assured wee shall sail at high water to morrow, which will be about noon. I pray God wee may. For when I consider the mien[3] of my captain, I can doubt of any thing that depends upon him. I am made to believe by all hands that he is indeed an able seaman, but I am sure he has one of the meanest tarpawlin-aspects, and the most of a sott in his looks, that I ever saw; and were it not that I am hourly informing my selfe by other seamen here, I should suspect he lost his opportunitys, or had some by-ends in not going; wherein I see no authority to controll him, or obtain the least satisfaction if it were so. Which may be reckoned amongst the inconveniences of this by-passage. His name is Wynne, one concerned in the transport-vessels during the warr, and (as he owns to me himselfe) often laid by the heels for conveying over obnoxious persons.

I had destined this night for going to see the herring-fishing; but have been disappointed by my fishermen. Should it be my misfortune to bee kept here to morrow, I

[1] Dr, afterwards Sir John, Shadwell, who was at this time physician to the English Ambassador at Paris; he must have had connexions with France, for he went to live there when he retired from practice in 1735. He appears to have been Pepys's godson; see p. 209 below.

[2] See note on p. 207 below.

[3] MS. "mine."

will not be prevented (with God's leave) in going-out with them.

I humbly salute all my friends, and begging your blessing, remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew,

J. Jackson.

123 [MS. i. 148]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

[*London*], *October* 17, 1699.

Nephew,—I write as one that would bee sorry it should finde you in England to read. But the wind must bee obeyd. I thanke you for my knowing that you are soe farr well, and nothing but that to hinder your goeing further. Your friends are all well, and take kindely your remembrance of them, particulerly Mrs Skinner and Mr Hewer, Sir J. H.'s family, etc.[1] And because I shall have frequent occasion of saying this or something like it, lett it for my ease bee all and allways understood soe by you under these 2 words,—Your friends, etc.,—unlesse I say the contrary, as on all just occasions I will. But you must not bee soe laconique, it being a necessary respect to bee heeded on your side that your friends may finde theyr names mentioned by you, when in proof of it I shall sometimes see it needfull to shew it. I minde your observations touching the little delight you are like on any score to take in your staying where you are; but 'tis better at the worst to wayte there for a good wind than bee beateing it to noe purpose at sea with a contrary one.

I send you for your præsent diversion what I have lately received from Dr Wallis about the eclips,[2] and 'twill serve as something on that topick when you are elcewhere.

The manner of my sending you abroad does throughout shew you my relyance upon your conduct, and therefore you shall owe it to your self if ever I appeare doubting it.

Yesterday I received from our Cosen Gale, Marculfus [3] (soe that that old hole is stopt), and with it a supply of 7 score title-pages, none contemptible but many very good, æquall

[1] See p. 195 above. [2] See p. 188 above. [3] See p. 181 above.

to any I have but the French, and not one upon my first view) that I had before; and the charge of them and booke and all (a thick quarto) but 24*s.* 8*d.* With which I am now brim-full as to that worke, unlesse you shall finde Dr Shadwell has already pickt up any thing, or shall, that is very curious, soon enough to bee forwarded hither with Mrs Skinner's goods. But pray fayle not to give him my services and thanks for what was brought mee 2 days since by Mr Prior's [1] clerke, viz., Alais's copy-booke,[2] a thing I mightily wanted and wished for. If Marculfus and Kortholtus were in his commission, pray advise him of my being now supplyed therewith.

I shall bee in dayly payne for your losse of time till I heare you are gone, which God make happy to you. Your ever affectionate Uncle,

S. Pepys.

124 [MS. i. 149]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Thursday, October* 19, 1699.
*Shoreham.*

Honoured Sir,—The wind coming to the N.E. yesterday, wee weighed about 3 in the afternoon, and fell down the river with the first of the ebb; yet could not reach the mouth of it before the tide was too far spent for us with any safety to attempt getting over the barr, so wee came and lay here again last night. This little experience has shewn mee so much of the ill circumstances of this harbour, that I should not at all wonder if a vessell were detained here a month together: the river being so full of shelfs and sands that there's no venturing to stirr in the night, and only at highwater in the day time, which is but once in 24 hours. Then must also the wind concurr, and blow a fresh gale too; or even this will not carry you clear out to sea, as it happened to us yesterday, and perhaps before the next day's highwater you lose your wind. Not, I thank God, that this is like to be our case, the wind

[1] Possibly Matthew Prior, who was at this time Secretary of the Embassy at Paris.

[2] Possibly Denys Vairasse d'Alais, a French grammarian of the time.

continuing in the same corner still, and I being just now (one a clock) going on board again, with assurance from our sailors of our getting cleaverly off to day.

An officer of the post at Havre de Grace going over with me, I have already bespoke [horses?] for carrying me to Rouen, whence, for many reasons, I shall hasten all I can to Paris; and particularly for the pleasure I promise myselfe of meeting there with some commands from you, and tidings of your own and all the rest of my friends' good health; whom if I name not particularly 'tis with regard to your ease, their number and my obligations being both too great to be expressed in little room. I rather crave leave to desire you in generall to make my respects agreeable to them all; and remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew,

J. Jackson.

I have taken the liberty of sending you a score of bloated herrings, which I thought very well cured. The carrier that brings them setts out hence on Tuesday next, and will be at his inn (the Talbot in Southwark) on Wednesday-evening. Hee will also bring back any letters that may come hither for me in my absence.

I cannot after all, with any satisfaction of mind, omitt being particular in my humble service and respects to Mrs Skynner, Sir J. Houblon and sons, Mr Hewer and family, Mr and M^lle^ Desgalliniere, Mr Mussard's family, etc.,[1] and of your Saturday's Literati,[2] Captain Hatton, Mr Evelyn, Dr Smith, etc.

Sir, I mett yours of the 17th in my going out of doors towards our vessel. I humbly thank you for it.

125 [MS. i. 150]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson[3] [*Holograph*].

*Thursday, October* 19, 1699.

Nephew,—Mine by the last has ere this (I hope) shewn you that I did not stay for your askeing it. I thank God I and all

[1] See p. 197 above.

[2] On Pepys's entertainments on Saturday evenings, see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys*, p. 265.

[3] The endorsement shews that this letter missed John Jackson at Shoreham, and was returned.

about mee are well, and your kinde remembrancers. But, though to noe purpose, I cannot but lament your demurrage where you are; and yet what is to bee sayd to't? If you know, or can thinke, pray tell mee; but patience. I have sent Lorraine to day to Fullam about the letters,[1] the result whereof you will have from mee or him to night.

I have found time with Mr Moore to looke over all my heads; 'tis only mould-spotts some of them are touched with, by being putt together before they were dry. But soe few, and of them but one French; soe that I shan't need to burthen you with the mention of any.

I have had a supply of seven-score title-pages more from my Cosen Gale this weeke, whereof none contemptible, but many very good; and soe that matter's over, and my search after Marculfus as well as Kortholtus, hee having furnished mee with that too.[2]

Your hurry hence allowed neither my selfe to aske nor you to give mee any refreshment about the præsent state of your brother's[3] affayres, as never haveing heard any thing of them since my last kinde expedient to enable him to cleare his debt to mee, which I would not bee thought to have foregott; and therefore as farr as you (during your unfortunate stay where you are) can give mee any præsent light therein, pray doe.

Another thing I would at the same time recommend to you to give mee your thoughts and advice in. It is with relation to the circumstances I am now under, upon your being gone, with reference to the little time I have Lorraine with mee, and the restraint his præsent character putts upon mee as to the uses I should have to make of him relateing to my books, papers, and clerkelike services, other than bare sitting at his deske upon solemne works only;[4] the generality of my studys, businesse, and domesticks subjecting mee to many lesser uses for an assistant-pen, more than hee is either in the way for, or I doubt would readily apply himselfe to if hee were; and

[1] See pp. 195, 202, 208.
[2] See p. 180 above.
[3] John Jackson's elder brother Samuel had quarrelled with his uncle over his marriage, and was disinherited by him in consequence.
[4] See p. 168 above.

I had rather (you know) beare with things not being done at all, or doe them my selfe where I can (which truly now grows too much for mee, especially as to copying) than see them done with reluctancy. Nor is this a small difficulty with mee, as knowing too well my haveing noe choice towards the solving it, there being noe body but hee that knows my businesse and manner of workeing, and at the same time qualifyd in every respect for doeing it. Soe that the only true and adæquate solution to it is, to knock quite off, and have nothing more to doe for any in his place. But, besides that that is in too many other respects impracticable with mee that I should need to goe to particulers with you therein, there is a necessity of my transcribing once more my alphabet and catalogue, which 'tis next to impossible for any body to doe to my satisfaction but hee; and the yet greater worke for an amanuensis in what I hope shortly to bee at liberty to goe about relateing to my navall speculations and applications, at least garbling of all my collections and papers præparative thereto. And at the end of all this (as what runs through the whole), add my haveing $\frac{3}{4}$ or more of my whole time to spend without any body neare mee, to reade or write word for mee, or know how to fetch mee a booke out of my library or putt it in its place againe when done with; and this, as I grow older, growing lesse supportable. Nor should I, were your selfe here againe, thinke it a province fitt for you to bee longer kept to, though I am farr from thinking you will have any cause hereafter to repine at the time you have hitherto spent in it, though nothing of that should ever come to passe which originally ledd mee to the choosing it for you. Wherein God's will must and will bee done.

Now the thoughts I am at this time under the constant payne of, I meane, of your unhappy detention where you are, have furnished mee with this as a subject not unfitt (on my behalfe) for the applying yours to dureing this unwellcome leasure of yours; which if it continues, pray therefore doe, and give mee the benefitt of; for to tell you the truth, I want it, as findeing my selfe as little able to tell how I would or could bee helpt herein, as how to live without help.

Between my comeing thus farr and the sealeing it, your 3d most unwellcome notice of your being not gone the 17th is come to hand. But *Quicquid est* (as my friend Thomas says) *quando est, necesse est esse.* Wherefore, etc.

I have known many a sage at sea make but a sott ashoare; and soe I hope yours may prove, from the trade which you tell mee hee has formerly drove. And I should not easily thinke that for his owne and the town's sake if they ever hope to bring credit to theyr port) they should suffer any unnecessary discouragements to bee offered to gentlemen to resort thither for passage. But in this Mr Liddall (who and Mr Hunter and Atkins dined with mee to day) tells mee that hee doubts not but Mr Luck will see right done you, as a concernment of the town's as well as yours.

With which committing you to God's blessing, I bidd you

ADIEU.

126 [MS. i. 152]. MR MILLINGTON TO MR PEPYS[1] [*Holograph*].

*Fulham, October* 20, 1699.

HONORED SIR,—Upon my motion to my Lord in behalfe of Mr Jackson, he was very ready to do him all the service in his power; the inclosed had come sooner had I known Mr Jackson woud have been detained so long on this side the water, and it had not come alone had my Lord had any other acquaintance left at Rome besides the person to whom this is addrest; he was onct my Lord's servant, and though now only a bookseller, yet my Lord beleives he will not be less usefull than if he were of higher condition. My Lord of London will reckon it a great favor when ever you will be pleased to see Fulham, and I shall be ever glad of any opportunity of acknowled[g]ing my selfe, Honored Sir, Your most faythfull and obliged servant, J. MILLINGTON.

[1] It appears from the endorsement that this accompanied a letter of recommendation from Henry Compton, Bishop of London, for Mr John Jackson to Rome.

127 [MS. i. 153]. Colonel Sackville to Mr Pepys[1] [*Holograph*].

*October* 20, 1699.

Sir,—Haveing heard by Mr Hunter and Mr Atkins of Mr Jackson's intention to see Rome, I thought that perhaps my sonn, who is there, may have made himselfe so well acquainted with the place as to be in some measure as usefull to Mr Jackson as I am ambitious in directing him to serve the relation of a person I have soe much reason to honor and esteem; and shall be extreamly pleased with my good fortune if the inclosed may any way answere the wishes I have of being thought, Deare Sir, Your most faithfull and obliged humble servant, E. Sackville.

I have sent my sonn's letter open, which Mr Jackson, if he pleases, may seale; and I being ignorant whether he may be known at Rome by his own name, have directed according as he informed me I should, soe that Mr Jackson, when he comes there, will soon find by which name my sonn is to be heard of.

128 [MS. i. 154]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson[2] [*Dictated*].

*London, October* 21, 1699.
*Saturday night.*

Nephew Jackson,—Should this meet you where 'tis directed to meet you, I should be next to distracted, under the concourse of so many mishaps relating as well to our no better instructions touching the circumstances of our sending you forth as the possible consequences thereof when delivered therefrom. But your letter of Thursday (just now come to my hand) gives me great hopes of hearing no more from you on this side the water. But then succeeds another uneasiness,

[1] It appears from the endorsement that this accompanied a letter of recommendation from Colonel Sackville for Mr John Jackson to his son at Rome.

[2] It appears from the endorsement that this letter missed John Jackson at Shoreham and was returned.

arising not only from your no mention of my two letters to you of the 17 and 19th, but from my having in confidence of quicker tidings of your being gone (when gone) not yet sent any away to meet you at Paris, nor can now supply that omission sooner than Monday next the 23rd instant. But as jealous as I am, and I hope you are, of lingering one moment unnecessarily there, I trust in God what I then write will overtake you before your going thence; directed to Mr Shadwell. If it should not unless you make great haste, I shall not fail by Monday's post to direct one to you to Sir James Houblon's correspondents (named in your list) at Lyons and Turin. Wherein, if not sooner, you shall have all I have to say of the condition of your friends here, who (God be thanked) are all in present full health. And so I hope are you.

And since we must yet suppose it not impossible for you to rest still under the same discouragements at Shoreham, I shall leave it entirely to you to consider what, if any thing, were feasible at any charge now to be done towards your ease therein; whether by returning hither or finding a land-passage from your present port to that of Dover. Not that I think either of these or any other at this time eligible, but only propose them to you to shew you how little difficulty I would make, by any means or at any rate, to extricate you.

I have been fatigued my self all this day long at my pen upon the endless work of our Hospital,[1] so as to be driven to make use of Mr Lorrain's [2] hand to you, though I am otherwise, I bless God, very well.

I thank you for your present of herrings; but shall in my conscience be more bloated than they, should they reach me before I have tidings of your being gone.

It remains only that for the reason you once suggested for not particularising your complements hither (though afterwards you largely do it, and for which I have Mrs Skynner's [3] special direction to give you thanks for her share in it, as I doubt not from the rest, as I have opportunity of communi-

[1] Christ's Hospital. [2] See note on p. 168 above.
[3] See note on p. 179 above.

cating it) I say for the same reason, I shall favour myself now the same way, and rest, Your truly affectionate Unkle,

S. Pepys.

One misfortune, and a great one, I have sayd nothing of, as not being myself conscious of it till this very night, when the like bearer that brought yours of Thursday last first acquainted my man Wooton with a daily-post now passing between this place and Shoreham, which truly though I might have well enough been advised of by the almost daily succession of yours (of which the last is the fourth within 5 week-days), yet such has been my disorder upon the score of your stay there, that I and all about me have been beasts enough to overlook it.

Paul [1] salutes you and prays for you.

129 [MS. ii. 21]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Honfleure, Sunday,* $\frac{\text{Oct. } 22}{\text{Nov. } 1}$ 1699.

*received Thursday, November* $\frac{16}{26}$.

Honoured Sir,—I am with much adoe gott hither at last. Wee sailed from Shoreham on Thursday-evening, and were sett on shore here but last night. Being however now safe and well, I can tell you with pleasure how much I have experienced of the fortune of the sea in this little voyage. Not to repeat the common accident of lying soe long wind-bound, about a league from the river's mouth wee run-aground, and were a good hour before wee could gett off again; a little further wee run-aground a 2d time, and had no small trouble to clear ourselves here; but about $\frac{1}{2}$ a league farther wee ran aground a 3d time, where, all expedients failing, wee stuck fast for 9 hours together, and had not wee been blessed with an unexpected calm, must have provided for saving ourselves by the boat, which also in this bussle getting loose from us,

[1] No doubt Paul Lorrain, who was preparing for ordination; see p. 168.

one of our men was driven to leap overboard and swimm after it, to the endangering the loss both of it and himselfe. About 3 in the morning the high water set us afloat again, and with a great deal of caution wee gott clear of all the sands into the ocean, but had not run above 4 or 5 leagues there, before the wind took us short, and came about to the southward of the east; which had almost made our captain resolve to make the best of his way to the Isle of Wight, but being prevailed with by me to beat it a while till he saw whether the wind might not backe again, it by good fortune did soe, and continued a fresh gale with very favourable weather till it brought us safe hither. Otherwise I know not what might have become of us, wee having but 2 men besides the captain to manage the vessel, and one of them finding work enough to pomp her of the water shee made; nay so leaky shee is, that I am just now told that they have much adoe to keep her above water in harbour here, and that the very seamen make difficulty of returning in her till shee bee searched and new-calked.

It's being Sunday would not have prevented my setting-out this morning for Rouen; but it proving to be the great Feast of Toussaints,[1] neither man nor horse would budge, nor could I so much as procure a convenient vessel to carry me crosse the sea (which is 3 large leagues broad here) over to Havre de Grace, but was driven to venture in our little ship's boat, which, I thank God, has brought me safe back again, and very well contented with what I saw; though I should think my selfe imprudent to run the same risk another time for it, after having seen how rough the sea was in the calmest of weathers, and how impossible it must have been for the boat to have lived should a storm have rose, as it might very well have done in our two hours passage over.

To morrow morning between 6 and 7 I design, God willing, to goe for Rouen; and shall have the good fortune to be accompanied part of the way thither by an English merchant that resides here and has been extraordinary obliging to me.

My captain calling-upon me for this letter, by whom I send

[1] All Saints.

it to be putt into the post-office at Shoreham, I am obliged abruptly to conclude, and remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew,

J. Jackson.

Paris[1] has had the good fortune to pass hitherto wholly unquestioned; going by the name of Patisson, a Scotch man, and speaking broken French in perfection.

130 [MS. i. 158]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Dictated*].[2]

*Monday, October* 23, 1699, *O.S.*

Nephew,—'Tis very hard to tell you the effectes of the discomposures I have for som time been daly exersiesd with from the vilinous methods of oure people of Christ-hospitall,[3] but much more from the crose rancounters met with in your dispatch out. But I hope you are now of the other side, and that this will find you at Paris, or, which is better, over take you at Lyons or Turin. I know it will apeare to you a great omision in me that I had not lodged one at Paris for you against your ariveall there. But, in plaine inglish, the doubts and disquietts I was constantly under from your Shourham disapointments put it quite out of my head; for which I truly nced and pray your excuse. But you went hence soe furnisht in all other maters, that I hope you will have sustaind noe greate inconveance more than the want of knowing the condision of all oure healths, which, I bless god, has been and is very good, saveing the restlessness I have been constantly under, and now am, on your behalfe; though my not haveing had any thing from you since that of thursday last, wherein you tell me of your present of bloated herings, which I kindly thank you for, makes me prety secure of your haveing now

[1] This was John Jackson's servant (pp. 196, 273); he belonged to the uncle's household (ii. 314), but was assigned to the nephew for his travels.

[2] This letter, addressed to Lyons, was dictated to Mrs Skynner, the housekeeper, who appears to have been rather an illiterate lady. The duplicate (MS. i. 155), sent to Dr Shadwell at Paris (see note on p. 196 above), to be forwarded to Turin, is in the hand of Paul Lorrain, Pepys's copyist, and contains the following additional postscript: "The scribe of this abundantly salutes you. He wrote to you to Mr Luck's at Shoreham a letter of thanks for the favor and honor of yours."

[3] On this see J. R. Tanner, *Mr Pepys*, pp. 275–6.

been a day or two in france. I have a letter or 2 for you, one from my Lord of Londone[1] and the other from Colonel Sackville,[2] to persones who, though of noe greate quality, may be of use to you there, and there you shall find them. I have my selfe beene, from the disquietts before mensioned, somwhat out of order these 2 days, which truly is the reasion of my borrowing this Lady's hand to you, who do's it very kindly with regard to you as well as my selfe. But Dr Ratlife[3] tells me I am not to feere being in a condision to goe a broad in a day or two. Sir Jeames Houblon[4] allsoe is at this time under his hand, which is an adisionall care to me. I have noe more at this time, but committing you to God Allmighty's blessing and protection, remaine, Youre truly afectionat Uncle, S. Pepys.

I have directed a duplicate of this to Turin, the beter to secure your meating with one of them.

P. L. est fort votre serviteur.[5]

131 [MS. i. 156]. Mr Pepys to Messrs Giovanetti and Guastaldo of Turin[6] [*Dictated*].

*De Londres, ce 23e Oct.*, [16]99.

Messieurs,—Je prens la liberté de vous adresser l'incluse, et de vous prier de la rendre à un jeune gentilhomme Anglois nommé Mr Jean Jackson, qui doit passer par Turin, et qui vous est recommandé de la part de Messieurs Tourton et Guigues. Excusez, Messieurs, la peine que je vous donne, and soyez bien persuadez que si je trouve jamais lieu de vous servir, je me feray un grand plaisir de vous donner des marques de ma reconnoissance, et de vous faire paroitre combien je suis, Messieurs, Votre tres-humble serviteur, S. Pepys.

[1] See note on p. 202 above.
[2] See p. 203 above.
[3] On John Radcliffe the physician, the founder of the Radcliffe Observatory at Oxford, see *D.N.B.*, xlvii. 129.
[4] See note on p. 69 above.
[5] On the back of the letter, in Paul Lorrain's hand.
[6] This letter accompanied the preceding.

132 [MS. i. 157]. Mr Pepys to Dr Shadwell [*Dictated*].[1]

*Monday October* 23, [16]99, *O.S.*

Dr Shadwell,—My nephew knowes too well my obligasions to and conserнments for the health of Sir Jeames Houblon, which is at this time under noe good apearance, to wonder at my borrowing a nother hand to him while my owne is buiseded in som consernes of his. But very unfortunate boath my selfe and nephew have been from the crose rancountres wee have boath mett with from the malise of the wind and inniequity of the port he was to sett out from, but my trust is that after all he will be with you before the arivall of this. Though that allsoe containes a misfortune in it, as haveing som reason to doubt, from his silance conserning them, wheather he has reseveide any of 3 letters I directed to Shorehan to him.

My prayer only is, that in case he shall have quitted Paris before your reseipt hearcoff you will faviour us boath with the forewarding the inclosed to lyons and Turin, that if it be posible he may not miss of one of them before he setts out for the mountianes. I am, deare godson, your most humble servant,

S. Pepys.

If this finds my nephew with you, lett him break open the inclosed.

133 [MS. i. 159]. Dr Wallis to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[2]

*Oxford, October* 24, 1699.

Sir,—In a letter of yours to Dr Charlet I find you are pleased to speak kindly of me. And particularly of what account I had given of the eclipse lately seen at Oxford, which (by reason of a great mist) could not be seen at London. What account that was I have now forgott (as I quickly shal what I now write). And (because you seem desirous to see it) I send, with this, a scheme of that observation. It is intended for

[1] This letter is in Mrs Skynner's hand.

[2] This letter is printed, but not very accurately, in Braybrooke, iv. 282.

the Philosophical Transactions, but how soon it will be there inserted I know not; and do therefore, in the mean time, send you the copy which Dr Gregory was pleased to give me. My daughter Blencow [1] who with the Judge her husband gave me a visit in their passage to London) tells me that, knowing nothing of the eclipse before, but being then writing a letter (about 9 a-clock) finding the light of the sun look somewhat dim, looked out to see what the matter was, and found it to be an eclipse. I asked her how the light appeared to her; the best account she could give of it was, much like that in the evening a little before sun-sett. And I believe it to be a good account of it (and much as it appeared to us at Oxford), and more than so I know not why any body should expect.

Of your quære's to Mr Hudson, I doubt he will be able to give you but a small account from old historians. I doubt scarce any better than that of Acts XXVII.[2] I can partly guess, by a little experience I once had in a short voyage (if I may so call it) from Stangate hole (I think it is so called) to Westminster bridge. I had one Sunday preached for Mr Gataker [3] at Redrif, and lodged there that night. Next morning I walked with him (over the fields) to Lambeth (meaning there to crosse the Thames to Westminster). He shewed me in the passage divers remains (in several places) of the old chanel which had been heretofore made (from Redrif to Lambeth) for diverting the Thames while London-bridge was building (all in a straight line, or near it, but with great intervalls, which had been long since filled up); those remains (which then appeared very visible) are, I suppose, all or most of them filled up before this time, (for it is more than fifty years agoe, and people in those marshes would be more fond of so much medow grounds than to lett those lakes remain un-filled). And he told me of many other such remains which had been within his memory but were then filled up. But thus much by the way. When we came to

[1] See note on p. 174 above.

[2] The account of St Paul's shipwreck.

[3] On Thomas Gataker, the Rector of Rotherhithe, see *D.N.B.*, xxi. 60. He died in 1654, so Dr Wallis's experience must have been half a century old.

Stangate hole (over against Westminster-bridge) we took a boat in a thick mist (intending for Westminster-bridge, just cross the water); when we had been at sea (for so I must call it) three times as long as would have been sufficient for the voyage, we made land, and discovered a shore with flags and reeds, and found our selves within a bow-shot of the place from whence we first lanched. We then putt to sea again, and when we had a second time spent about as much time, we mett another vessel just on head of us; we haled the boat and asked whither they were bound; they sayd to Westminster (in a course directly opposite to ours), and found, upon discourse, that we were going directly to London-bridge, and were about as low as White-hall, or further. I expostulated with our sea-men how it was possible they could so mis-take; and thought they might at least know whether they rowed with tyde or against tyde. They told me, No; if they were at anchor they could see which way the stream ran; but, being in motion, they could onely know what stroakes they made with their oars, but knew not what way they made at each stroak, unless they could see the shore; nor was there any wind stirring whereby to direct their course. I then told them, if they could now set themselves right, I would be their steers-man to hold-on the same course. It was now winter, and a thick mist, and in such case (though litle wind stirring) we might discern the motion of our own breath; and, by observing this, I could see when we varied from the course designed, and accordingly directed them to row more to the right or left hand as there was occasion; and by this steerage we came within the noise of the people at Westminster-bridge, and then made up to them. Now if we had thus been wandering (for about half an hour or more) in so short a passage as just cross the Thames, we may well conjecture at what pass those must be who, in the wide sea, without sight of land, had no help from sun, moon, or stars to direct their course, when as the magnetick helps were not yet known. They must then be obliged to keep within sight of land (and *littora legere*), without putting out to the wide sea, unless in fair weather, when sun or stars might guide them: and, if by chance they

were surprised at sea in dark weather, they must be perfectly at a loss, having little else to help them except soundings (to let them know when near land) or remembring from what point the wind blowed when the darkness began, guessing that it might continue to blow from the same point. What better information Mr Hudson[1] may give you from ancient circumnavigations, I leave to him. And, [having begged your pardon for the impertinences of a teadious letter], remain, Sir, Your very humble servant, JOHN WALLIS.

134 [MS. ii. 2]. ENQUIRIES OF LORD REAY[2] CONCERNING SECOND SIGHT [*Copied*].

[1699].

*Letter-Notes.*

Lord Reay.

Thanks for his last.

Have used his leave in communicating it, to his great honour, and have some further queries to return him.

Query, are they outward apparitions or inward visions.

Query, an account of the elf arrows.

Enquire of the heir of Sir John Dalrymple,[3] Laird of Stairs, late Lord President, after a tragical story, etc., relating to witches.

Press for the parson's book.[4]

Lord Seaforth (the late)[5] said to have had the second-sight, and neither denyed nor owned it upon D[uke] of Lauderdale's[6] rallying him on his foretelling a storm, etc.

Query of Dr Ross,[7] late Arch-Bishop of St Andrews, the

[1] See note on p. 171 above.

[2] George Mackay, third Baron Reay, was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

[3] Probably in error for Sir James Dalrymple, Laird of Stair, and Lord President of the Court of Session. In 1690 he was created Viscount Stair, and died in 1695. His son Sir John Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, was still living, and had never been Lord President.

[4] See p. 216 below.

[5] Kenneth Mackenzie, third Earl of Seaforth, died in 1678.

[6] *D.N.B.*, xxxv. 360.

[7] Dr Arthur Ross, the last Archbishop of St Andrews; he was deprived at the Revolution, and died in 1704.

history of Jannet Douglass, a girle about 1678, famous for the second sight and discovery of witches, and of many others yet alive.

To be directed to one Mr Robert Meinyes [Menzies], a writer,[1] in the Post Office in Edenburgh.

135 [MS. ii. 4]. Lord Reay to Mr Pepys [*Dictated*].[2]

*Durness, October* 24, 1699.

Honoured Sir,—Conforme to my promise in my last, I send you all the informatione I could make in those things you recomended to me. I have just now receaved my Lord Tarbat's answer, and shall coppie what is to the purpose.

"I remember that several years agoe, in answer to a letter of Mr Boyle's,[3] I did wryt to him as to the second sight, a coppie whereof receave herein [en]closed. If you please, returne it after useing it.

"Since that tyme I wes not much in the north, nor did I make any enquerie on purpose, and what I had occasione to hear thereof differed not considerablie from what I heird formerly.

"One of them was of a footman of your great grandfather's,[4] who was mightily concerned upon seeing a dagger in the Lord Reay's breast. Hee informed his master of the sight, who laughed at it. Some monethes thereafter, he gave the doublet which hee did weare when the sier did see the dager in his breast to his servant, who did weare or keepe it two years, and then did give it to this footman who wes the sier, and who wes stabed by annother in the br[e]ast when that doublet wes on him. My Lord, you may enquere further in the truth of this. Some things (though nothing demonstrative) perswade me still to suspect that the qualities of the eyes and air in these places may contribute much to this sight, for

[1] *I.e.* a Writer to the Signet.

[2] A clerk's copy of this letter, with large omissions and some alteration in terms, is also given in the MS. (ii. 10). It is this copy, and not the fuller original, that is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 265.

[3] See note on p. 48 above.

[4] *I.e.* Lord Reay's great-grandfather.

as to the emission of species,[1] especially from moving bodies, beings, are litle to be doubted, but that the species should flow from things befor they exist, whillst they are only potentiall as to the circumstance wherin they are seen, requyrs a new system of philosophy for explicating it.

"My Lord, as to the salt beeff, I have eat salt beefe in the castle of Borthwick (which is within eight mylls of Edinbrugh, and I presume that it is the reladeall ?) that you have heird of) which both the houss keeper and others told me to be above 200 year old and still keeped in thet place, and I doubt not ther is of it as yet there. All the gentlemen about that place concoure in the testimonie, for those liveing have heard it related by theyr grandfathers as never to be doubted of its being of so old a date. It would not appear to the eye to be other than a soft wood, but when boylled it is evidently deserned to be flesh. And ther is testimoniall proof sufficient to extend it beyond Har[r]y the Eight; that is, I have heard olde men of good and untainted veracitie aserte that ther grandfathers did afirm it to be esteemed wonderfull old.

"I wish for a particular accompt of the sea fowll which builds in earth holes lyk rabuts. I apprehend it to be the same which is called lyres[2] in Orkany; you have them in Ileand Henda."

Sir, this is the answar I had from my Lord Tarbat, and receave heirinclosed a coppy of the letter hee sent to Mr Boyle.[3]

I informed my selfe of the trueth of the storie about my grandfather's footman, and finde it literally true; as also of ane other much of the same nature, which I shall give you ane accompt of because that I had it from a sure authore, being a frend of my own of unquestionable honestie, to whoos father the thing happened, and who wes witness to it all himself.

[1] *Species* is here used in the sense of an emanation creating a phantom or image perceptible to the senses.

[2] A "rare and delicious sea fowl" found in Orkney. It is the Manx shearwater (*Puffinus anglorum*). Handa is a small island on the west coast of Sutherland, a little south of Loch Laxford and some way north of Loch Glencoul.

[3] This follows on p. 219 below.

John Macky of Dilril haveing put on a new sheete [suit] of cloathes, wes told by a seer that hee did sie the gallowes on his coat; which he never notised, but some tyme therefter gave the coat to his servant, William Forbes, to whoes honestie there could be nothing said at that tyme, but was shortly therefter hanged for theft with the same coat about him; my informer being eye witness to the executione, and heard what the seer said befor.

I have heard severall other stories, but shall trouble you with no more than what has happened since I cam to this countrey.

Ther wes a servant womeine in Murdo Mckye's house, in Langduale on Strathnewer in the schyre of Sutheland told her mistris shee saw the gallowes about her brother's neck (who hade then the repute of ane honest man), at which her mistris being offended, put her out of her house. Her brother, haveing stolen some goods, wes sentenced to be hanged the 22 August, 1698; yet by the intercessione of severall gentlemen, who became baile for his futur behaviour, wes set free (though not customerie by our law), which made one of the gentlemen, called Leftenent Alexander Mcky [Mackay], tell the woman servant that shee was once deceaved, the man being att libertie. Shee replyed, Hee is not dead as yet, but shall certainely be hanged. Accordingly hee begane to steall of new, and being catched wes hanged the 14th of February, 1699.

I wes this year at hunting in my forest, haveing severall Highlanders with me, and speaking of the second sight, one told me ther wes a boy in company that saw it, and had told many things which fell out to be true; and haveing called him, hee confessed it. I asked him what hee saw last. He told [me] hee had seen the night before such a man by name, who lived 30 mylls from that place, breaking my forrester servant's head. The servant over hearing, laughed at him, sayeing that that could not be, they being very good freinds. I did not believe it then, but it hes certainly happend since.

These stories, with what is contained in my Lord Tarbat's letters, are the most sufficient to prove the second sight of any

ever I heard. And the people are so much perswaded of the trueth of it in the Highlands and Isles, that one would be more laught at for not beleiveing it there than affirmeing it elsewhere. For my own part I doe not questione it; though but a small ground to perswade others to the beleife of it. But I dare affirm, hade you the same reasons I have, you would be of my opinione. I mean, had you heard all the stories I have, attested by men of honour not to be doubted, and been eye witness to some of them yourself, as the breaking of the man's head, fortelling of an other's death, and another story which the same boy told me long ere they happened.

Their was a blind woman in this countrey in my tyme who sie them perfectly well, and fortold severall things that happened; which hundereds of honest men can atest. Shee wes not born blind, but became so by acciddent, to that degree that shee did not sie as much as a glimereing, yet saw the second sight as perfectly as befor.

I have gote a manu-script since I came to Scoteland, called Ane Essay of the Nature and Actiones of the Subterrenians and (for the most parte) Invisible People, heirtofor goeing under the names of elves, faunes, and faries, or the like, among the low countrey Scots, and tearmed [ ][1] amongst the Tramontans[2] or Scotish Irish, as they are now descryved by those that have the second sight, and now, to occassione furder enquerie, collected and compared by Mr R. K.[3] The authore of this treatise was a parson. I

[1] The words omitted are in Celtic script too carelessly written to be intelligible. The only decipherable words are *luchrmán*, the Gaelic *luspardan*, the sense, however, requiring the plural *luchtain* = elves, and *siabras*, the English plural of *siabra*, = a ghost or supernatural being.

[2] Perhaps in the sense of barbarians.

[3] Mr R. K. is Robert Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle, whose MS., dated 1691, is now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. It is entitled, "Secret Commonwealth, or a Treatise displaying the Chief Curiosities as they are in Use among Diverse of the People of Scotland to this Day. Singularities for the most Part peculiar to that Nation: A Subject not heretofore discoursed by any of our Writers, and yet ventured on in an Essay to suppress the impudent and growing Atheisme of this Age, and to satisfie the desire of some choice Freinds." The first and only chapter is entitled, "Of the Subterranean Inhabitants," and Lord Tarbat's letter to Mr Robert Boyle (see p. 219 below) appears as an appendix to it. The essay was published in 1815.

received a letter this day from a friend I imployed, promising me his acquaintance, which I'm very covetous of, being perswaded it will give me much insight in this matter. And yet after giveing a very full accompt of this second sight, [he] defends that there is no sin in it, upon severall reasones too tedious to relate; but when ever I have occasione I shall send you a coppie of the booke. He is not of my Lord Tarbat's opinione as to the qwalitie of aire and eyes.

Ther is a people in these countreyes surnamed Mansone who sie this sight naturally, both men and womane, though they comonely deny it, but affirmed by all ther neighbours. A seer with whome I wes reasoneing on this subject, finding me very incredulous of the trueth of what he asserted, offered to let me sie them as well as himselfe. I asked if hee could free me from sieing them therefter, and he saying he could not put a stope to my curiositie. The maner of shoueing them to ane other is, the seer puts both his hands and his feet above yours, and mutters some words to himselfe, which done, both sies them alike.

This is, Sir, all the informatione I can send you on this head 'till I have occasion to send you the formentioned treatise.

I could never heare any thing of the salt beeffe save what my Lord Tarbat tells of the beeff of Borthwick, which severall other [*two or three words are indecipherable here*]. You never heard of these foulls called lyres mentioned in my Lord T. his letter. It's a gray foull, short winged, of the size of a teell, with a bill like a maverale.[1] They build in holes of the earth like rabats, but not above 3 foot in. The young ones are comonely catched by a hooke tyed to the end of a stick, which by turneing the stick aboute entangles in the nest and so pulls it and the young out. It's almost all fat, and so luscious that they are seldom eaten till they be salted. I have them in Island Henda, but never sie one of them. Ther are severall other foulls on this coast and many things in the countrey that deserve a particular descriptione, but I had never tyme, though my enclynations were never so good.

[1] Probably for mavelard = mallard, a wild duck.

There is a loch calld Dandelchake,[1] on M'Kintosh his land two myles above Loch Nes, on a hight, which wes never known to freese befor Candlemas[2] (save once, 19 years agoe), but freeses very hard then with the least frost.

Loch Ness minds me of a man I sie at Inverness selling peats for fire. He is 125 yeare old, yet comes 6 mylls back and fore in one day twice a week to sell those peats. The oldest man in that countrey told me that hee wes a very old man when hee was a chyld.

There is a kyle[3] in the Harris a myle longe which runnes the winter halfe of the yeare (that is to say, from September to March) northerly, and from thence to September againe southerly; I have forgot the name of the kyle.

The bones said to be found in the court of the Earl of Argyle's house at Inverarra of a monstrous bignes wes but a romance.

I cannot possibly tell you whether the clay goose[4] be suppositious or not, though all this countrey men afirm it for a trueth. I have seen my selfe ane old maste of a ship come in on the shore full of larg holes, as if made by wormes, wherinto ther sticks a shell within which ther is a small thing which resembles a foull in every thing; in a warm day the shell oppens and the fowl would seem to th[r]esh their wings. But many of undoubted honestie assure me they have seen a foule with wings, feathers, feet, and taill, sticking to a tree by the bill, but wanted lyfe. The shell falls away when they com to perfectione, as ane egg braiks, and they stick by the bill till they get lyfe. Those that were seen sticking to the tree wes as lang as a small chickine. They engender only in firr trees. I have seen severall after they cam to perfectione, but not sticking to the tree. [5] Their will be hundreds of them sticking to one old mast or planck of a ship.

I spared no pains (when my troublesome affairs gave me leasure) to satisfy your curiosity, and am sory that I can't do it as much as I would, Dear Syr, though I used my indeavour, but be sure if I can gett any information in this or any thing

[1] Near Inverness. [2] February 2.
[3] A narrow channel or strait.
[4] The claik—or barnacle-goose, to which this old legend was attached.
[5] From this point the letter appears to be in Lord Reay's own hand.

else that is curious, that I won't fail to acquaint you of it. I would be content to know the reason why the lake never freeses till a certain tyme, and freeses with the least frost then. I can easily conceive why it should not freese at all, as many in this country never doe. And what can occasion the running of the formentioned kyle the one half of the year southerly and contrary the other half, seeing the ocean at both ends of it (being only a myle long) flows and ebbs as other seas. And if a fowl can reasonably ingender out of a fir tree by lying in the sea. You'l say not, but if real, as I'm allmost perswaded, what can be [the] occasion of it?

I expect you'l acquaint me how soone you receive this. And be perswaded that I am, Honoured Sir, Your most humble servant, REAY.

I made use of a servant to write this, because my own hand is not very legible, which occasions it's being so very uncorrect, and that I have not tyme scarcely to look over it.

### COPY OF LORD TARBAT'S LETTER TO MR BOYLE.[1]

SIR,—I heard very much but beleived very litle of the second sight, yet its being afirmed by severall of great veracitie, I was enduced to make some enquerie after it in the yeir 1652, being then confyned to abyde in the north of Scoteland by the English usurpers. The more generall accompts of it were, That many Highlanders, yet farr more Islanders, were quallified with this sight; That men, women, and children indistinctly[2] were subject [to] it, and children where parents were not, sometyme people come to age who had it not when young; Nor could any tell me by what meanes produced. It's a trouble to most of them who are subject to it, and they would be rid of it at any rate if they could. The sight is of no long duratione, only continually so long as they keep their eyes steadie, without treimbleing. The hardie therefor fix their look that they may sie the longer,

[1] A duplicate of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 11).
[2] *I.e.* indiscriminately.

but the timorous he only glances, their eyes alwayes trimbleing at the first sight of the object.

That which generally is seen by them are the species [1] of liveing creatures, and of animat [2] things which are in motione, such as shipps and habites uppone persones. They never sie the species of any persone who is allreadie dead. What they forsie fealls [falls] not to existe in the mode and in that place where it appears to them. They can not tell what space of tyme shall interveen betwixt the aparitione and reall existance, but some of the hardiest and longest experience have some rules for conjectures: as if they sie a man with a shrowding sheet in the apparitione, they would conjecture at the neirnes and remotenes of his death by the more or less of his bodie that is covered by it. They will ordinarely sie ther absent freinds, though at a great distance, sometymes no less than from America to Scoteland, sitting, standing, or walking in some certaine place; and then they concloude with assurance that they will sie them so and there. If a man be in love with a woman, they will ordinarely sie the species of that man standing by her, and so lykwayes if a woman be in love; and they conjecture at ther enjoyment (of each other) [3] by the species toucheing of the persone, or appeirance at a distance from her if any enjoy not another.[3] If they sie the species of any person who is sick to death, they sie them covered over with a shrowding sheet.

These generally I hade verified to me by such of them as did sie and were esteemed honest and sober by all the neighbourhood, for I inquered after such for my informatione. And because ther were more siers in the Isles of Lewes, Harris, and Uist than any other place, I did intreat Sir James M[c]Donald, who is now dead, Sir Normade M[c]Leod,[4] and Mr Daniell Morison, a very honest parsone (who is still alyve), to make inquerie in the strange sight and to acquent me

[1] Images, phantoms.

[2] Perhaps written by mistake for inanimate.

[3] Lord Braybrooke, who printed a very inaccurate version of this letter in the 1854 edition of the *Diary* (iv. 268), bowdlerises this expression into "marrying" and "marry."

[4] On Sir Norman M'Leod, the royalist soldier, see *D.N.B.*, xxxv. 216. The daughter of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat was his second wife.

therwith; which they all did, and found ane aggreement in these generalls, and informed me of many instances confirmeing what they said. But, though men of discretion and honour, being but at second hand, I would choose rather to put myself than my freinds in the hazard of being laughed at for incredible relationes.

I wes once travelling in the Highlands, and a good number of servants with me, as is usuall ther, and one of them goeing a litle befor me, entereing unto a house where I was to stay all night, and goeing heastily to the doore, he suddenly start back with a scrich and did fall by a stone that hitt his foot. I asked what the matter wes, for hee seemed to me to be very much frighted. He told me very seriouslie that I should not lodge in that house, because shortly a dead coffine would be caryed out of it, for many were caryeing it when hee wes herd cry. I neglecting his words and staying there, he said to others of the servents he wes very sorie for it, and that what hee saw would surely come to pass, and though no sick persone wes then there, yet the landlord, a healthie Highlander, dyed of ane applexdick fitt befor I left the house.

In the year 1653 Alexander Munro (afterwards Lieutenant-Collonell to the Earle of Dumbartone's Regiment) and I were walkeing in a place called Ullabill[1] in Loch Broome. In a litle plain at the foot of a rugged hill there wes a servant working with a spaide in the walk befor us, his back to us and his face to the hill. Befor wee came near him he let the spaide fall and looked towards the hill. He took [no] notice of us, wee pass[ing] near him, which made me look at him, and perceaveing him to stair strangely, I conjectured him to be a seer. I called at him, at which hee started and smiled. "What are you doeing?" said I. He answered, "I have seen a very strange thing, ane army of Englishmen leading of horses comeing down that hill; and a number of them are come downe to the plaine and eating the barley which is growing in the feild neare to the hill." This wes on the 4th of May (for I noted the day) and it was four or fyve dayes before the barley was sown in the feild he spoke of. Alexander

[1] Probably Ullapool.

Munro asked him how hee knew they were English men. Hee said, because they were leading horses, and had on hats and boots, which he knew no Scots men would have on there. Wee took litle nottice of the whole storie as other than a foolish visione, but wished that ane English partie were there, wee being then at warr with them and the place almost uncrossable for horsmen. But in the begineing of August thereafter, the Earle of Middletoune [1] (then Leftenent for the King in the Highelands) haveing occasione to march a partie of his towards the South Highelands, he sent his foot through a place called Inverlawell,[2] and the forepart, which wes first downe the hill, did fall of eating the barley which wes on the litle plain under it. And Monro, calling to mynd what the seer told us in May preceeding, he wrote of it and sent ane express to me to Lochsline [3] in Ross (where I then wes) with it.

I hade occasione to be in company where a young lady wes (excuse my not nameing of persones), and I wes told there wes a notable seer in the company, and I called him to speak with me, as I did ordinarely when I found any of them. And after hee had answered several questiones, I asked him if hee saw any persone to be in love with that lady. He said hee did, but knew not the persone, for dureing the two dayes hee had been in her company, he perceaved one standing near her and his head leaneing on her shoulders, which hee said did fortell that the man should mary her and dy befor her (according to his observatione). This wes in the year 1655. I desyred him to descryve the persone, which hee did; so I could conjecture by the descriptione of such ane one who wes of that ladye's accquentance, though there were no thought of ther mariage till two years therafter. And haveing occasion in the yeare 1657 to find this seer, who wes ane Islander, in company with the other persone whom I conjectured to have been descryved by him, I called him asyde and asked if that wes the persone hee saw besyde the lady

[1] On John Middleton, first Earl of Middleton, see *D.N.B.*, xxxvii. 352. He was not raised to the peerage until 1656.

[2] Probably Inverlael, at the head of Loch Broom.

[3] Lochslin, an ancient castle near Loch Eye.

near two years then past. Hee said it wes hee in deed, for hee had seen that lady just then standing by him hand in hand. This wes some few monethes befor their marredge; and the man is since dead and the lady still alive.

I shall trouble you but with one more, which I thought most remarkable of any that occurred to me. In January 1682 the above named Lieutenant Colonel Monro and I happened to bee in the house of William M^cLeod of Feirinlea in the countrey of Ross, he, the landlord, and I, sitting in three chairs near the fyre, and in the corner of the great chimney there were two Islanders who were that very night come to the house and were related to the landlord of the house. While the one of them wes talkeing with Monro, I perceaved the other to look oddly towards me. From his looks, and his being ane Islander, I conjectured him a seere, and asked him why he staired. He answered by desyreing me to ryse from that chaire, for it wes ane unluckie one. I asked why. Hee said, "Because there wes a dead man in the chair next to it." "Well," said I, "if it be but in the next, I may safely sit here; but what's the likness of the man?" He said he wes a tall man with a long gray coate, booted, and one of his leggs hanging over the chair, and his head hanging down to the other syde, and his arme backward as it were brockine. Ther was then some English troops quartered near the place, and ther being at that tyme a great froast after a thaw, the countrey was wholly covered over with ice. Four or fyve English men ryding by this house some two hours after the visione, where wee were sitting by the fyre, wee heard a great noyse which proved to be these troupers, with the helpe of other servants, caryeing in one of their number who had gott a very mischeifous fall and hade his arme brook; and falling frequently in swooneing fitts, they brought him to the hall and sett him in the very chaire and in the very poyster [posture] the seer had proposed. But the man did not dye, though he recovered with great dificultie.

Among the accompts given me by Sir Normade M^cLeod, ther wes one worthie of speciall nottice, which wes this. Ther wes a gentleman in the Isle of Harris who [was] alwayes

seen by the seers with ane arrow in his thigh; such in the Isle who thought these prognosticationes infallable did not doubt but hee would be shott in the thigh befor hee dyed. Sir Normade told me that hee heard it the subject of there discourse for many years when that gentleman wes present. At last he dyed without any such accident. Sir Normed was at his buriall at St Clement's Church in the Harris. At the same tyme the corpse of ane other gentleman wes brought to be buried in the same very church. The frends on either syde cam to debeat who should first enter the church, and in a trice from words they came to blowes. One of the number (who wes armed with bow and arrowes) let one fly amonge them. (Now every famely in that Isle have ther burriall place in the church in stone chests, and the bod[i]es are caryed in oppin beers to the bur[i]all place.) Sir Normande haveing apeased the tumult, one of the arrowes wes found shot in the dead man's thigh; to this Sir Normand himself wes a witness.

In the accompt Mr Daniell Morisone, a parsone in the Lewis, gave me, ther wes one which, though it be hetrogeneous from this subject, yet it may be worth your nottice. It was of a young womane in his parish who wes mightilie frightened by seeing her own image still befor her alwayes when shee came unto the oppen air, and the back of the image being alwayes to her, so that it wes not a reflectione, as in a mirrour, but the species of such a body as her owne, and in a very lyk habitte, which appered to her self continually befor her. The parsone keeped her a long tyme with him, but hade no remedie of her evill, which troubled her exceedinglie. I wes told afterwards that when shee wes 4 or 5 years older, shee saw it not.

These are matters of fact which I asure you are truely related, but these and all others that occured to me by informatione or other wayes could never lead me unto a remote conjecture of the cause [of] so extra ordinare a phænomenon, whether it be a qualitie in the eyes of some people in those parts, concureing with a qualitie in the aire, alsoe whether such species be every where, though not seen by the want of eyes so qualified, or from what ever other cause, I must leave

to the enquerie of clearer judgments than myne. But a hint may be taken from this image which appeared still to this womane aformentioned, and from another mentioned by Aristotle in the 4th of his Metaphysicks, if I remember right, for it's long since I read it; as alsoe from that comone opinione that young infants (unsoyled with many objects) doe see apparitions which are not seen by those of older years; lykeways from this, that severall who did see the second sight when in the Highlands or Isles, yet when transported to live in other countreys, especially in America, they quite lose this qualitie, as wes told me by a gentleman who knew some of them in Barbados who did sie no visione ther, although he knew them to be seers when they lived in the Isles of Scotland.

136 [MS. ii. 22]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Paris, Saturday* $\frac{Oct.\ 28}{Nov.\ 7}$ [16]99.

Honoured Sir,—My last of the 22nd by our captain from Honfleure (which I reckon upon your receiving before this) left me determined to sett-out the next morning by horse for Roüen. I pursued my purpose, and passing through Ponteau de Mer,[1] where I dined, reached La Bouille about 6 in the evening, being by water 5 leagues but by land not 3 short of Roüen. Having here reposed a while, I, partly for thrift and partly for want of being fully apprised of the inconveniences of it, made my last stage thither in a common flat bottomed boat drawn by 2 horses and capable of 4 or 500 people. It sett-out about 11 at night and landed us at Roüen between 4 and 5 the next morning, where I was forced to wait with the rest of the company in a brandivin-shopp upon the Key near 2 hours longer for the opening of the gates. 'Twas one of the bitterest frosty nights I ever felt; and there being no possibility for me to gett a wink of sleep in this miserable voiture, I found myselfe indeed not a little disconcerted at my entrance into Roüen. However it did not hinder my employing all the

[1] Pont Audemer.

rest of the day in traversing the town and seeing what was to be seen there, which made me ample amends for all my toil. Your old friend Monsr. Trenchepain I found in perfect health, and very glad to hear of Sir James Houblon's family and yours. I ought to have given Mr James Houblon [1] a present account of my delivering his letter and obeying the other commands he honoured me with relating to Monsr. Trenchepain's family, but I must begg you to excuse me to him till the next post, not having opportunity to do it by this.

By Monsr. Trenchepain's advice and with his assistance in the procuring of good horses, etc., I sett-out on Wednesday-morning with the Messenger of Roüen in very good company hither, where I arrived early on Thursday evening; and after all my misadventures cannot but own myselfe very well pleased with the route I took, the country of Normandy exceeding that of Picardy both in its towns, fields, roads, and all other circumstances, beyond what I could have imagined. I wish I had time to be more particular herein.

I employed yesterday in surprising and overjoying my friends with the tidings of the good health I left England in. My first visit was with Dr Shadwell,[2] (who presents his humble duty to you and is so kind as to allow me his whole time), [and] to Mrs Hatton, whom I found full of her usuall civilitys. Both her Ladyship and Mrs Jones are very well, and commanded me to make their due compliments to my friends about you, to the Captain,[3] Mrs Skynner,[4] etc. I begg leave to joyn mine with them. I [had] the same reception from the Raquette, from Pla[ce] Dauphine, and from Sir Daniel Arthur's,[5] and the same commands to return their best respects to yourselfe and Mrs Skynner; with the thanks of my Lady Throgmorton and her daughter in particular for your present to them, which they mightily admire, and which I find the daughter will keep all to her selfe.

I can only add that I design, with God's leave, to sett-out for Lyons on Wednesday next in the Diligence, which will bring

[1] See note on p. 181 above.
[2] See note on p. 196 above.
[3] Captain Hatton.
[4] See note on p. 179 above.
[5] Sir Daniel Arthur was probably a Jacobite exile in Paris, for he had been knighted in Dublin by James II in 1690.

me thither in 4½ days. I humbly begg your blessing, and rest in great hast, Your most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

At the Ambassador's I accidentally mett Mr Prier,[1] who is come over hither in all hast incognito from England about some extraordinary affair.

137 [MS. ii. 20]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Copy*].

*London, Monday October* 30, 1699.

Nephew,—I have met with so many disappointments since your departure hence, with respect I mean both to my hearing what is become of you since your quitting Shoreham, and giving you any account of my self or your friends here (as having two of the 3 I directed thither to you returned me back again), that I am almost in despair when or from whence to hear next from you. Nor has this been my only calamity, it having pleased God to lay his hand very hard on me with a fit or two of a most severe ague and feaver, that have exercised all the skill and kindness of Dr Ratcliff[2] to support me under, to the disabling me to write to you with my own hand; as you will I hope 'ere this have found by one in Mr Lorrain's, enclosed in another to Dr Shadwell of Thursday the 26th instant, with directions for his forwarding it and its duplicate[3] so as to overtake you at Lyons or Turin, in case they should fail of coming time enough to find you at Paris. But I bless God I am returned to a very good condition of health again. So as if I were once at ease with relation to you, I should not be without hopes of a more pleasant and less interrupted course of correspondence with you from hence forward. I send you this by the way of Venice, addressed, as per Sir James Houblon's orders, to the heirs of Signor Berti,[4] with two enclosed: one from my Lord of London[5] to a bookseller at Rome, formerly his Lordship's servant, and one who though of no greate condition he seems to think may be in some

[1] See note on p. 188 above.
[2] See note on p. 208 above.
[3] See p. 209 above.
[4] See p. 190 above.
[5] See note on p. 202 above.

respects of more use to you than were it greater; time and dissuitude having extinguisht his acquaintance there of that rank. The other is from my friend Colonel Sackfield[1] to a son of his, Monsieur Degast,[2] now at Rome. I send it you open, for your better judging of the use you shall have occasion or otherwise see fit to make of it. I can only say it carrys with it very extraordinary expressions of respect to me and to yourself. Sir James Houblon, who has also been much out of order (but, I thank God, set right again by my doctor) gives you his kind remembrances, and tells me the letters of credit were all timelily dispatched away according to his list thereof[3] in your hand. Mrs Skynner[4] is your kind remembrancer also, and many friends else unnamed, and all well.

Poor Monsieur Dugalliniere is this day set out towards Ireland, to a living he is invited to there by the Bishop of Cork under the name of fourscore pounds per annum, but what indeed it is, and under what other circumstances, is hard to judge here; and therefore he is gone to obtain some greater certainty of it before he removes his family thither, and I pray God it may prove worth the poor man's adventuring so far out of the way and at so great an expence for. So leaving you to God Almighty's protection, I in haste bid you Adieu. Your most affectionate Unkle, S. P.

138 [MS. ii. 23]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Paris*, *October* 31 / *November* 10 } 1699.

*Tuesday*, 10 *at night.*

Honoured Sir,—No sooner was my last, from this place, gone out of my hands, but came your packet of the 23rd instant, by the hands of Dr Shadwell.[5] The first sight of it gave me no small satisfaction; but when I came to look more nearly to it, I could hardly forbear wishing I had still remained under

[1] See note on p. 203 above.
[2] See p. 203 above.
[3] See p. 192 above.
[4] See note on p. 179 above.
[5] See note on p. 196 above.

the want of it. When I found nothing of your own hand in any of the letters designed by you for Lyons and Turin; when I saw your name so differently wrott in every one of them; when I observed them to be sealed with a strange seal; and when I compared all these circumstances with what was said in them of your indisposition, I was in a great deal of pain, and at no little loss what to think or do; and had I not already given earnest for my passage to Lyons, I believe I should have been induced to continue here till I heard again from you. If there was no real ground for these apprehensions of mine, I begg you for the future to give me no more occasion for them; if there was, I beseech you to be more plain with mee, for under these doubts I shall not bee able to take any pleasure or satisfaction.

Though I grudged the staying 5 days in this place, I have found them little enough for doing what I was charged with. Multiplicity of friends, their distance from one another, and the excess of their civilitys on every side, all contribute to the consuming of time; however, I know not of any thing material omitted by mee. The enclosed shews you the state both of your own and Mrs Skynner's [1] effects here, and a little time will, I hope, shew you the things themselves. Dr Shadwell had paid for 100 and odd title-pages, with a proviso for returning what were disliked; and indeed I thought them so very dear that I pretended to have duplicates of what you really have not, only to avoid the extraordinary charge of them; and have retained no more then threescore of those I thought most worthy your having, and some of which the printseller values at ½ a louis d'or apiece. Together they amount to 2 new louis d'ors; and very dear of that too, compared with the bargain you have had from Holland: but this was the best I could make of a bad market.

I was with Dr Shadwell this evening at Mr Leonard's to know what could be done relating to your enquiry, but had little satisfaction from him. The originals he saith lie in various hands and various offices, and which in which he cannot tell, the Collection not having been digested by him-

[1] See note on p. 179 above.

selfe; all he pretended to be able to do was to direct us to a gentleman most likely to assist us in this matter, whose address Dr Shadwell has taken, and if in your next you will please to inform him particularly of your desire herein, he prays me to assure you he will spare no pains of his towards procuring you satisfaction therein.

When you see Mademoiselle Faure, you may please to acquaint her that I delivered her letter to her unkle with my own hand; that he now lives in Rue Bonbourds au petit cul de sac, and not according to the address on her letter; that he seemed very glad to hear from her, and the character I justly gave both of her and her husband; and that he would not fail of writing to her. By the persons I observed coming to him whilst I was there, I take him to be a man of considerable businesse.

I truly bewail Sir James Houblon's [1] indisposition, and shall purposely forbear troubling Mr James [2] with the impertinence I designed him whilst there is any danger of its coming so unseasonably. I begg your making my services acceptable to the whole family; as also to Mrs Skynner [3] (whom I am much obliged to for your last dispatches), to Mr Hewer and family, to Monsr. and Mlle. Desgallinieres, and Mr De Vaux (if arrived), to Dr Smith,[4] Mr Evelyn, etc., and nieghbours.

I had the honour of waiting again this afternoon on Mrs Hatton and Mrs Jones, whose services I desire may give countenance to the tendring of mine to the Captain. They are also full of respect towards Mrs Skynner, and indeed have refined to the last degree upon her Book of Japanning.

The Ladys of the Raquette, the good people of Place Dauphine, Sir Daniel Arthur,[5] etc., are also both your and her humble servants, and wish for nothing but occasions to shew it.

I humbly begg your blessing, and remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

I received the favour of one of yours at Shoreham, which

[1] See p. 209 above.
[2] See note on p. 181 above.
[3] See note on p. 179 above.
[4] See note on p. 104 above.
[5] See note on p. 226 above.

I owned in my last from thence; though I find by yours to Dr Shadwell you overlookt it. I sett-out at 4 to morrow morning for Lyons.

139 [MS. ii. 32]. Lady Throgmorton to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

[*Paris, Tuseday night,* [*October* 31] / *November* 10, 1699.]

Sir,—Here is Monsieur Count de Brol's [1] letters, Sir, herein, and hee desiers my daughter to tell you hee prays you will begine the delivery of the letters at your arrivall to his sister the first. I have alsoe sent those for my Lord Bishop Elles [2] and R[everend] father Mansfield [3] open, that you may peruse them at your leasur, and then seall and give them. I doubt not of both their sevilitys, and that you may intyrly depend on all the services in R[everend] Father mansfield's power. I have only time to tell you wee are inconsolable you mist your aim and the fatigue of a useless (?) jerny to the forest. I hope for the futur you will bee more sucsesfull, which shall be the harty wishes, with all prosperous busynes in this world and the next, of both mother and daughter, who are with sincerity, Sir, Your faithfull [*the rest torn*].

140 [MS. ii. 26]. Mr Pepys to Mr James Houblon [4] [*Copy*].

*Monday morning, November* 6, 1699.

Dear Sir,—Not daring yet to look out of doors, I send this to enquire after Sir James's proceedings in the business of his health, and how it speeds with him; designing it for my own first errand abroad after I am fit for it. In the mean time, I beg both him and yourself and my friend Mr Winn Houblon,[5]

[1] Possibly Breuil; see p. 259 below.
[2] Dr Philip Ellis, Roman Catholic Bishop of Aureliopolis *in partibus*. He was at this time James II's unofficial agent in Rome.
[3] Rector of the College of English Jesuits at Rome; see p. 256 below.
[4] See note on p. 181 above.
[5] Wynne Houblon was Sir James Houblon's eldest son.

for your so late lookings after me, to accept of my most faithful thanks.

On Saturday-night, and not sooner, I was put out of my pain concerning my young-man by a letter of his from Paris of the 27th of October, where he was newly arrived after a very tedious stay at Shoreham, and therefore as short a stop at Roüen, but where nevertheless he had time to receive great instances of respect from our old friend Monsr. Trenchepan, for which he begs your accepting of his present thanks by me, the freshness of his arrival at Paris and care of providing for himself there, pressing him to rest on your kind forbearance towards him till the next post, which we may hourly expect. His expectations then were to quit Paris on Wednesday last by the Diligence, and to be at Lyons this day, if not yesterday; and thence God speed him! remembring that every step he makes, he makes by your favour, for your family is one. I am sure it has always been so in its kindnesses to me, and now to mine.

I hope Mr Herne [1] is not yet gone, nor will be before I am in a condition of waiting on him; pray have that in your eye for me. I am, Sir, Your most humble servant, S. Pepys.

141 [MS. ii. 27]. Mr James Houblon [2] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Munday noon, November* 6, 1699.

Sir,—My father is much your debtor for your most kind inquiry after him. He went down to the Forrest [3] a Thursday, in order to have his blisters applied according to the doctor's directions, where he will continue till to morrow. He is I think much better, and is of the same oppinion him self.

Give me leave, Sir, to repeate my congratulations for your happy recovery. I hope 'tis now perfected, and sincerely wish

[1] Possibly Thomas Hearne the antiquary, who had just taken his degree at Oxford; as a nonjuror he would be a *persona grata* in Pepys's circle.

[2] See note on p. 181 above.

[3] Sir James Houblon had a house near Epping Forest.

you many, very many years' injoyment of your health for your own sake, as well as the benefitt of mankind.

I heartily rejoyce that Mr Jackson was safe got to Paris; may the rest of his voyage prove more successfull. I beg you, Dear Sir, to beleive me what I am, Your most affectionate and faithfull humble servant, JAMES HOUBLON, JR.

142 [MS. ii. 28]. MR PEPYS TO MR JOHN JACKSON [1] [*Holograph*].

*Monday November* 6, 1699, *O.S.*

NEPHEW,—Your letter of the 27th of the last from Paris (for I have heard nothing yet of that from Honfleure, your vessell not being come back to Shoreham on Saturday last) has at once eased mee of a great deale of trouble concerning you. As you will well have understood, if either of my letters of the 23rd or 30th of October has reached Dr Shadwell,[2] the former of which carryed in it 2 of the same date to you, one designed for the meeting you at Lyons and the other at Turin; the latter allsoe a 3d of the same date with its selfe, directed for you to your correspondent at Venice. I am glad of your satisfaction (after all) in your goeing by Normandy, it being a piece of the tour of France that noe Englishman (I thinke) should overlooke. I have done your errand to Mr James Houblon,[3] but hope the next post will bring something to him from your selfe. I take very kindly Dr Shadwell's part of respect to you on this occasion, and shall owne it to him. I hope your stay at Paris will give you opportunity of enquireing after and clearing of all Mrs Skinner's [4] and my scores there to him, to my Lady and Mrs Throgmorton,[5] and to Madam^lle. de Guernier; though I finde, and am very well satisfyed with it, that they will amount to more than wee spoke of here, but not more than (I hope) you will bee able

[1] A duplicate of this letter, endorsed "Sent open to Dr Shadwell," is given in the MS. (ii. 29).

[2] See note on p. 196 above.

[3] See note on p. 181 above.

[4] See note on p. 179 above.

[5] Probably the "Lady Throgmorton and her daughter" referred to on p. 226 above. "Daughter" here might very well stand for daughter-in-law; or "Mistress Throgmorton" for an unmarried daughter.

without inconvenience to spare out of what you carry with you. But if that cannot bee, I have taken care to desire theyr immediate acquainting mee with the summe the whole amounts to, and I will by the very next post returne it them by Sir Daniell Arthur.[1]

By your last you should bee now at Lyons, soe that where this will reach you I know not, and therefore shall send it to Dr Shadwell with my desire that hee will give it such addresse as I cannot doubt but you will have concerted with him before your leaveing Paris, I haveing allready (as before) pursued you as farr as Venice; and whither next to send to you am at a losse, as thinking it both too farr off and yet too soone to direct any thing for you to Rome. But I hope your next will enlighten mee herein. In expectation of which, I comitt you to God Allmighty's protection, and rest, Your affectionate Uncle, S. Pepys.

I am (I blesse God) in a good state of health againe, and so allsoe is Sir James Houblon; with the rest of our friends, saveing C[aptain] Hatton and Mr Sergeson,[2] and more particulerly the latter. Mrs Skinner, etc., are greatly at ease since my heareing from you, and wish the residue of your journy happy to you.

143 [MS. ii. 30]. Mr Martin to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Lyons, November* $\frac{[7]}{17}$, 1699.

Sir,—'Twas with a great deal of pleasure I received my father's commands to go for Italy when at the same time he acquainted me that Mr Jackson was to be my companion in the rest of my travells; the advantages I proposed to my self from his acquaintance made the little time I waited here pass agreably away. We intend to begin our journey in a day or two, in which I promise my self the double satisfaction of seeing the beauties of Italy and seeing them in his company, and it shall be my part to study alwaies how to make my self

[1] See note on p. 226 above. [2] See note on p. 194 above.

any ways serviceable to him and worthy so deserving a fellow traveller, as well for his own sake as from the high esteem I ever had for the person he has the honour to be so nearly related to, and to whom I shall be ambitious of the title of, Sir, Your most obedient servant, J. Martin.

144 [MS. ii. 31]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Lyons, Tuesday November* $\frac{7}{17}$ [16]99.

Honoured Sir,—I have at length with great pleasure joyned Mr Martin here, and shall sett-out with him on Thursday morning next for Geneva; not without hopes of performing the whole tour sett down by Mr Houblon, at least the best part of it, but of this wee are not yet come to any final determination. Mr Martin has now Mr Houblon's paper[1] in his hand to peruse, and perhaps by to morrow's post I shall bee able to give you some more certain account of this matter; as also, whether I shall make any use of my credit here on Monsr. Tourtone. For my own parte, I see no occasion for it, having all my pistoles yet good; but if Mr Martin should want, I presume you would not I should make any difficulty of giving him the benefit of my credits for a moderate summe, either here or elsewhere.

I have a very different account to give you of my journey from Paris hither from what I expected. Travelling almost all night long, I cannot pretend to have seen every part of the country, but what I did see of it in this passage has the meanest appearance of any part I have yet seen of France: fewer good towns, more poor, and a less pleasant country than Picardie it selfe. Our route was by Charenton, Melun, Pont-sur-Yone,[2] Sens, Auxerre, Vermanton,[3] Roche,[4] René le Duc,[5] Chaalons sur Saone,[6] and thence by this river to Macon and Lyons, where wee arrived on Sunday in the

[1] See p. 181 above.
[2] Pont-sur-Yonne.
[3] Vermenton.
[4] Probably La Roche-en-Breuil.
[5] Possibly Arnay-le-Duc.
[6] Châlon-sur-Saône.

evening. This indeed is a very noble city, as large at least as Rouen, and (I think) as well built as Paris; I should also esteem it for its being very populous, were it not that almost one halfe of the people begg in the streets. The outcry is the same here as at Paris, and all over France, of the great scarcity of money, and bankers break daily for vast summes.

I must not omitt observing to you that I have not yet mett with a dropp of good wine; even in Burgundy itselfe it was hardly tolerable.

I reserve what I may have more to say for to morrow's post, Mr Monro being come to goe-out with me. This comes directly for England, but to morrow's will be by Dr Shadwell from Paris. Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew,

J. Jackson.

145 [MS. ii. 33]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Geneva, November* $\frac{13}{23}$, 1699.

*Monday-noon.*

Honoured Sir,—I was misledd when in my last from Lyons I reckoned upon the post's going-out again from thence the next day, and its affording me an opportunity of saying more to you then relating to our route; this being the first opportunity I have since had of paying my duty to you. Wee sett-out from Lyons on Thursday last, and arrived here yesterday-noon; where wee went immediately to church and saw the whole order of their devotion, and afterwards their diversions, they being not so nice observers of the Sabbath here as I thought they had been. This day wee shall spend in seeing what more there is to bee seen here, and to morrow sett-out for Turin, which will bee a journey of 6 days at the least; and God knows how long wee may bee detained there, it being positively affirmed here that the plague is so spredd over all Italy that there is no passage in or out without a quarentine at every considerable town. This wee are told by divers English gentlemen here, and among the rest Mr

Houblon,[1] whom I mett yesterday at church, pretty well recovered from a 3 weeks illness; which may give some satisfaction to Sir James Houblon's family. All our hopes are that wee do not find this piece of news universally credited by the people of the town; but there is another that no body yet contradicts, which is that the Pope is dead. Should this indeed prove so, wee should have still more reason to hasten to Rome, whatever places wee miss seeing by the way. Some I fear wee shall bee necessitated to leave unseen, do what wee can,—I mean of those sett-down by Mr Houblon. But they shall bee as few as possible. This makes it, however, impossible for me to tell you strictly what towns wee shall pass through after Turin, whether by the straight way to Rome or otherwise; wee finding it very difficult to gett away from places with the expedition proposed, and thinking it better to see what wee doe see well and throughly than more superficially.

Bee pleased to favour me with giving my humble services to Mr Mussard's family, and letting him know that I have delivered his letter to Monsieur Gainier here, whom I find extreamly obliging, and ready to supply mee with what money I should want; but having had the good fortune to come safe with the stock I sett-out with from London, I shall have no occasion to make use of his favour, but shall not esteem it at all the less.

I must also begg the trouble of your paying my respects to the rest of my friends and acquaintance:[2] to Mrs Skynner, Sir James and Mr Houblon, Mr Hewer, etc.; Mr Hatton, Dr Smith, Dr Gale if yet come to town; Mr and Mrs Desgallinieres and Mr Devaux, if arrived from Holland. I would fain have wrott to these last from La Sainte Cité, but have not time to give my-selfe that pleasure.

If in hast I have omitted others whom I owe equall respect to, I begg you to supply the defect; and accept yourselfe my most humble duty and faithfull acknowledgments of your favours; remaining, Honoured Sir, Your most obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

[1] It is not clear which of the numerous Houblons this is.
[2] Those named here are all referred to in previous letters.

Mr Martin writing himselfe, I shall not need to say any thing relating to him, more than the praying you to give my humble services to Rood-Lane as opportunity offers.

146 [MS. ii. 34]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Geneva, November* $\frac{14}{24}$, 1699.

[*Tuesday.*]

Honoured Sir,—Mr Martin's occasions, the advantage I am told my Spanish pistoles will yield me in Italy more than here, and the earnest desire of Mr Mussard's correspondent to oblige me, have induced me to alter my resolution and take up a hundred crowns here, halfe of which Mr Martin has received, as per his hand on the other side. I begg you to answer this favour on my part to Mr Mussard, and with my humblest services let him know that I never mett with more civilitys from any person in my whole voyage than Mr de Gainier.

Wee are just now setting-out for Turin, which allows me opportunity only to begg your blessing, and remain, Honoured Sir, Your most obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 100 escus @ 56*d* sterling per escu [1] . . . | £23 | 6 | 8 |
| 20 escus @ 56*d* sterling do. . . . | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| | £28 | | |

*November* $\frac{14}{24}$, 1600. Received of Mr Jackson, fifty crowns, being halfe of what hee received of Monsr. Gainier.

J. Martin.

Receu de Messieurs Gainier, par ordre de Monsr. Philippe Mussard de Londres, la somme de cent escus especes. Fait double à Geneve le 14^me^ de Novembre 1699. J. Jackson.

[1] See note on p. 244 below.

*December* 16, 1699. Received of Samuell Pepys, Esqr., twenty thre pounds, six shelings, 8 pence, in full of all accounts, by mee, PHILLIP MUSSARD.

23–06–08.

147 [MS. ii. 35]. MR PEPYS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY [1] [*Dictated*].[2]

*York buildings, November* 14, [16]99.

To the Arch Bishopp of Canterbury his Grace, in favour of Monsieur de Gallinieres.[3]

MY LORDE,—It is not without reluctancy that I give your Grase this interuption. But 'tis in behalfe of the wife and nesesitus famieley of Mr De Galenere, one of the poore minesteres of the French Conformist Churches suported by his Majeste's bounty heere.

His pitision (which I veryly hope your Grase will see noe cause to disalow) will be presented you by another hand; that only which I have humbly to a companey it with to your Grase from my selfe, is the testimoney which my many yeares intimate knoledge of him both inables and obliges me to give your Grase conserning him. Which is, that to the unblemisht sanctity, conduct, and humility of his life, and painefullness in his holy calling (rendering him a reall orniment to the profession he suffers-for), adding the more than common measure of his generall learning, and soe in peticuler valued by my learned kinsman the Deene of York,[4] from whose character where off my Lord Bishop of Killmore [5] has been long indevering after somthing worthy of him in Ireland, and which 'tis hoped is now in view; and heareto joyning what I am further but too privey to (if it pleased god) of the streightness of the circumstances under which he and his indigint family at this day lye; I cannot but think it my duty to give

[1] Archbishop Tenison.
[2] This letter is in the handwriting of Mrs Skynner.
[3] Inserted by Pepys.
[4] See note on p. 142 above.
[5] On Dr Edward Wetenhall, who had been translated to Kilmore and Ardagh on April 18, 1699, see *D.N.B.*, lx. 382.

your Grase this my knoledge of him, and (as such) in all humility to recommend him to your Grase's just faviour and protection; remaineing with the profoundest respect, My Lord, your Graces's ever most dutifull servant, S. P.

148 [MS. ii. 28]. Dr Shadwell to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[1]

*Paris, November* $\frac{[17\ O.S.]}{27\ N.S.}$, [1699].

Dear Friend,—Ime extremely glad that you got so well to Lyons. The account of that good newes obligd me very much, as I know it has done some in England by this time, who [from the] letters I have recievd have thought you intirely lost; and I believe a certaine person thought that her prayers were heard, as generally those for one's destruction are.

Your apprehensions about Mr Pepys's health I find had some ground, and Ime glad to heare he is so [well] recovered. Mrs [MS. *torn*] and her daughter rejoyce at your being well, and amongst us we'll trye to weigh down the scale of the aforesaide.

I sent a letter I recieved from Mr Pepys to you to Venice last post, and design to direct this thither, hoping by the date of yours it will meet with you there.

All happiness attend you, which is the prayer of, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

J. Shadwell.

149 [MS. ii. 8]. Mr Pepys to Lord Reay [*Copy*].[2]

*York-Buildings, November* 21, 1699.

My Lord,—I can never enough acknowledge either the honour or favour of your Lordship's letters of the 10th and

[1] This accompanied Pepys's letter to his nephew of November 6 (O.S.), printed on p. 233 above.

[2] A duplicate of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 9); and Lord Braybrooke prints it (iv. 272), but with an unacknowledged omission.

24th of the last. Could I have foreseen the least part of the fatigue my enquirys have cost your Lordship in the answering, I should have proceeded with more tenderness in the burthening you with them. But since your Lordship has had the goodness to undergo it, I cannot repent me of being the occasion of your giving the world so early a proof of what may further be expected from a genius so curious, so painful, so discerning, and every way so truly philosophical as your Lordship has herein shewn yours to be. In the exercise whereof I cannot (as an old man) but wish you a long life and a happy, to the honour of your noble family, your country, the whole commonwealth of learning, and more particularly that part of it (the Royal Society of England, dedicated to the advancement of natural knowledge) whereto your Lordship is already become a peculiar ornament.

And now, my Lord, for the matter of your letters. They carry too much of observation and weight in them to bee too easily spoken to; and therefore shall pray your Lordship's bearing with me if I ask a little more time for it.

This only I shall not now spare to say; That as to the business of the second sight, I little expected to have been ever brought so near to a conviction of the reality of it as by your Lordship's and the Lord Tarbutt's authoritys I must already own myself to be.

Not that I yet know how to subscribe to my Lord Tarbutt's charging it upon some singularity of quality in the air or eye of the persons affected therewith. Forasmuch as I have never heard of other consequences of any indisposure in the medium or organs of sight than what related to the miscolouring, misfiguring, diminishing, or undue magnifying of an object truly existing and exposed thereto. Whereas in this case we are entertained with daggers, shrouds, arrows, gibbets, and God knows what, that indeed are not; and consequently must be the creatures of the mind only (however directed to them) and not of the eye.

Nor yet, as to the reality of this effect, would I be thought, my Lord, to derive this propension of mine to the belief of it, to the credit only which I find it to have obtained among your

neighbours the Highlanders; for that it has been my particular fortune to have outlived the belief of another point of faith relating to the eyes, no less extraordinary, nor of less universal reception elsewhere, than this can be in Scotland. I mean, the *mal de ojo* [1] in Spain; with a third touching the sanative and prophetick faculty of the *Saludadores* [2] there. As having heretofore pursued my enquirys thereinto so far upon the place, as to have fully convinced myself of the vanity thereof, especially of the latter, from the very confessions of its professors.

But, my Lord, where (as in the matter before us) the power pretended to is so far from being of any advantage to the possessors as on the contrary to be attended with constant uneasiness to them, as well as for the most part of evil and grievous import (and irresistibly so) to the persons it is applyed to, in consequence whereof (as your Lordship well notes) your seers are both desirous to be themselves ridd of it and ready to communicate it to any other that will adventure on't; I say, these considerations, joyned to that of its being so abundantly attested by eye-witnesses of unquestionable faith, authority, and capacity to judge, will not permit me to distrust the truth of it, at least till something [more] shall arise from my further deliberations upon your Lordship's papers leading me thereto than I must acknowledge there yet does. In which case I shall give myself the liberty of resorting again to your Lordship, praying in the mean time to know how far I have your leave to make some of my learned friends partakers with me in the pleasure of them, and of what your Lordship has been pleased with so much generosity to promise me of further light upon this subject from the manuscript lately come to your Lordship's hand; a copy of which will be a most welcome and lasting obligation upon me from your Lordship.

I should now go to the rest of your excellent remarks upon the beef, the geese, the loch, the peat-man, and the kyle; nor shall an iota of them drop. But they have all of 'em

[1] The evil eye.

[2] On their pretended miracles see Evelyn's *Diary* for September 16, 1685, and his note on Pepys's exposure of them when in Spain. In modern Spanish *saludador* means a quack.

their peculiar weight; and I would not so soon requite your Lordship's late fatigue in writing with a greater from myself in reading; and therefore (for your Lordship's sake only) choose rather to respite it to the next; remaining, with most profound respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

150 [MS. ii. 41]. Dr Shadwell to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Monday,* {[*November 27, O.S.*] / *December 7, N.S.*} [1699].

Dear Sir,—Hearing but now that this is post day to Rome, I must not omit giving you two lines to let you know the uneasiness your uncle has been and still continues in about you by reason of the miscarriage of letters which we have both been unfortunate in. 'Tis not above ten days since he recievd yours from Honfleure, and the letter you left behind you (which after my messenger could heare nothing of where you lodgd, though calling my self afterwards I found it, and sent it away with one to Mrs Skinner in the pacquet) is not yet come to his hands. I have sent to my correspondent to enquire after them, but you may guess in the meane while, after hearing no newes of you but from me, how uneasie Mr Pepys must be. I have sent twice to Venice to you: once a letter Mr Pepys inclosd in one of mine directed only to your correspondent; the other time a letter from Mr Pepys in which you had my good wishes. I hope you recievd them. I write in such hast that you must excuse my breaking off abruptly, wishing all health and happiness from, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate friend and servant, J. Shadwell.

151 [MS. ii. 42]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Genoua,* [*November 28, O.S.*] / *December 8, N.S.*, 1699.

Honoured Sir,—Wee were not so fortunate at Turin, but wee have been yet more so here. Wee arrived but last night

at 22 a clock, and have this day unexpectedly seen a most solemn procession of the Doge and all the religious orders, on occasion of some extraordinary favours received by this city through the mediation of the Blessed Virgin, this being the day of her Conception. In 6 months more wee might not see the like again. Wee have also since pretty well traversed the town, and by the favour of Mr Scudamore and Henshaw, who are extreamly obliging, hope to expedite the rest so as to be able to sett-out to morrow for Leghorne, the wind and weather serving.

In this hurry you will forgive me, I hope, if I break-off here with begging your blessing, and the favour of your renewing my humble respects to my friends; remaining, Your most obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

I have no thoughts of taking-up any money here.
There is a rumour [MS. *torn*] disorders in Scotland.
Mr [Martin] desires mee to give his humble service to you.

152 [MS. ii. 36]. Mr Wynne Houblon[1] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Winchester Street, November* 30, 1699.

Sir,—In answer to the queries you were pleased to leave with me this morning, the only method of finding Mr Jackson wilbe to write him to Rome with a direction to Signor Ritzi for him. As there is no plague in Italy, 'tis probable that he will pursue his intended route via Venice; if his purpose be altered, then will he pass by Genoua and Livorne. The price of the exchange as it went from hence the 30th of October last (which is the 9th November S.N.) was at 47½*d.* to ¼ per crown of France, which passes for 72 sols, and this day about 47⅞*d.*[2] I was promised by a broker to be informed how it came from thence about the 10th November, but he

[1] See note on p. 231 above.

[2] The French *écu à la couronne* (Anglicised as "crown") was worth somewhere about five shillings or 60 sols (=3 livres). The exchange at this date was therefore against France. S.N. = New Style (N.S.).

hath failed me. When I know it, Sir, I will not fail to acquaint you with it. I flatter my self you will excuse the trouble the inclosed papers will give you, and that you will believe me, Sir, Your most faithfull humble servant,

WYNNE HOUBLON.

The price of the exchange as it came from Paris last post is $47\frac{7}{8}d.$ per crown.

153 [MS. ii. 43]. MR PEPYS TO MR ROGER GALE [*Copy*].

*London, Monday December* $\frac{4}{14}$, 1699.

COUSIN GALE,—I am indebted to you for one of the 8th ult. from Rotterdam, which I knew not how to repay you till now that you have obliged me with another from Paris of the 5th instant N.S.; for both which I render you my very kind thanks.

As for what you seem to take kindly from me in my moving my cousin your Father[1] for your going to Rome to the approaching solemnity, it was indeed what I thought not only pleasurable, but what you would render truly useful to you in every of the respects wherein I judged it might, and am in great hopes it will to my nephew; and on that consideration, and of the mutual content and use it might be of both to you and him on many scores to be companions in such an undertaking, I proposed it to Mr Deane,[1] and could still wish it had had his concurrence.

I am indebted to you for your mindfulness of my title-pages, and the hopes you give me of my seeing them soon; and the rather for that they would come very opportunely to meet with others I am beholden to my kind friend Dr Shadwell for procuring for me at Paris, in order to my present proceeding to the shutting-up of my Collection. You have obliged me by your account of the eclipse, and I presume Dr Shadwell (if it be not gone from him after my nephew) will

[1] The Dean of York. On the relationship see note on p. 177 above.

communicate to you what I lately sent him from Oxford of Dr Gregory's observations [1] thereon.

For the Doctor my cousin your Father, I have not heard a word from him touching his coming to town, and therefore dispatched away your letter to him to York the very day I received it, which was Saturday last.

With which, and the giving you Mrs Skynner's kind services, as well as my own, I rest, Good Cousin, Your most humble servant, S. Pepys.

When next you favour me with a letter, pray tell me whether (he being an old and kind correspondent of your Father's) you have any recommendation, or mean to make any visits, to the learned Père Mabillon; [2] I having a scholar-like errand that (in that case) I would take the freedome of praying your communicating to him.

154 [MS. ii. 37]. Mr Pepys to Mr Wynne Houblon [3] [*Copy*].[4]

*Thursday morning, December* 7, [16]99.

To Mr Winne Houblon.

Sir,—I had sooner acknoledged your last favour, could I as soon have acquitted my selfe with the same satisfaction towards your enquirys that (I thank you) you did towards mine. But they being upon a subject that I have had litle of late to doe with, they caled indeed for more recloection than I durst on a suden depend on. And wheather I am yet fully ripe for it I dare not undertake; but as far as I am, I give it you in a paper aparte for your redynesse in what you shall have to say upon it to Mr Best; and take it as inclosed.

I thank you for your tidings of the noe-plague in Itelay, and your advise therefore for yet writing to Rome, which I shall follow. But I must first begg you or my frind Mr Jeames

[1] See p. 210 above.

[2] John Mabillon (1632–1707), a learned French writer on St Bernard, the Benedictine Order, and other subjects.

[3] See note on p. 231 above.

[4] The letter is in the handwriting of Mrs Skynner.

Hablon [1] to give me by 2 words, by the peney post or this mesanger, an Italion adress to Seign^re^ Ritzi (if it must be in Italien) and just as much inside to it as is nesesery to bespeeke his faviour in its diliverey.[2] But if French will doe, I shall spare you the trouble. And I pray being told wheather I am to direct it imeadietly to rome, or other where to be forwarderd thither, and where; and the post days (not to loose any) in eather case.

All which trouble, past and to com, pray, gentlemen, lett your Father (to whome my many servisses) bare the blame of, for not keeping his word in makeing this toure long agoe with me himselfe; till now that another tour atends us boath that will call for a much greater preparasion (god help us in it) than wee coud ever have needed for a tripp to Rome. Adiue. Deare Sir, yours allways and all ways, [*unsigned*].

155 [MS. ii. 38]. Mr James Houblon to Signor Rizzi [*Copy.*]

[*Londra, December 7*, 1699.]

Signor,—Li Signori Balle di Livorno mi scrivono d'haver recommandato il Signor Jackson a Casa vostra, che ma da motivo di pregarvi di render la questa inchiusa a'l suo arrivo in Roma; Di gratia sensato mi questo fastidio: essendo, Vostro servitor humill^mo.^, Gia: Houblon.

156 [MS. ii. 39]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Dictated*].[3]

*London, Thursday, December 7, 1699, O.S.*

Nephew,—Though this comes directed to Rome, yet 'tis from no measure I have before me for it, but as the certain last place that some time or other I am to hope it will find you at; so unlucky wee have hitherto been in our correspondence, your letter from Honfleur of the 22 of October not reaching me till the 16 of November, nor that at your quitting Paris

[1] On James Houblon, see note on p. 181 above.
[2] Letter No. 155.
[3] A duplicate of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 40).

October 31, till the 25 of November; nor those from Geneva being able to give me (upon the tidings you met with there of the plague in Italy) any notice of the route you then had in your view to take (whether by Venice or Genoa) after your getting to Turin. From whence also I have yet had nothing from you since your setting-out November 14 from Geneva, though (I take it) you reckoned it a journey of 6 or 7 days only. But the talk of the plague being quite over, at least here and in France, I hope you'le meet with no diversion from your first plan, and that therefore you have 'ere this met with mine under my own hand directed to Venice of the 30 of October. So that there is no occasion remaining, I hope, for your being under any further pain touching my health, which truly there was once great ground for, and I thank you for your soe sensible partaking in it. Sir James Houblon also and his family, with Mr Sargason [1] and all the rest of your acquaintance within my view, are (I thank God) upon their feet and well, and all our kind neighbours too, and particularly those of the Mussars, to whom I have owned by all expressions of gratitude the singular respect shewn you by his Geneva-friends, with the tender of the money supplyed you by them (out of which I am very glad you had any opportunity of accommodating Mr Martin, whose character, as well as what I have seen of him from his own hand, I am greatly delighted with), but having had no advice of it yet from Geneva, Mr Mussar chooses to respite the receipt thereof.

Pray let Mr Martin have my hearty services and thanks for his late favour, giving him the enclosed and telling him (if you can guess at it) the tenderness wherewith he, and respect wherewith you, were remembred at my worthy friends his father and mother's table about 7 days since, myself and Mr Hewer assisting; nor do our learned friends fail of doing you the like weekly right at mine.[2]

The French addition of title-pages are arrived, greatly to my liking; and so is the book for Mrs Skynner (who is not

[1] See note on p. 194 above.

[2] This is a reference to the regular meetings of some of the more distinguished members of the Royal Society on Saturday evenings at Pepys's house in York Buildings.

forgetful of you), but we can't yet say any thing of the success of that, my Lord Tavistocke's governor,[1] who took charge of it, and is arrived with his Lord, not having yet visited her with it.

I told you in that to Venice of our poor friend Mr Desgalliniere's call at length to Ireland.[2] Since which I have received a most obliging and acknowledging letter from him, and a most welcome one from the hopes it brings me of its proving a very happy removall to him, not only for the real worth of his benefice to the height of what he expected, but from the personal respect he was received with by his Bishop, a learned and worthy prelate, who has already not only made him his chaplain, but made some advances towards the changing his present living, which it seems has this in it of inconvenience that it is a great way from Dublin, for another that may bring him nearer himself and Court and several of his friends, Monsr. Rosebrave and others that are provided for thereabouts.

What I have to add is the recommending to you the procuring for me a copy-book printed at Rome in the year 1638 under this title, *De Caratteri di Leopardo Antonizzi*. And if there be any thing in Italy of that kind more modern and extraordinary, whether at Rome or elsewhere, pray omit not to secure it for me.

There is another little matter, but of great consequence that you do it, being mightily desired by my Lord Clarendon, who you know is a great saladist and a curious. It is (to use his phrase) that you would dust your letters to me with Roman lettice-seed; it being what he tells me Mr Locke[3] (as I take it) used heretofore to do for him; and one way or other pray fail not to pleasure him herein, if not this way, which methinks hee mentions to me in very good earnest.

What I have of news is only to note to you that we have

[1] A note is added here, at the foot of a page, "P. L. salutes you and companion." P. L. is Paul Lorrain, Pepys's copyist, and the companion referred to is no doubt Mr Martin.

[2] See p. 228 above.

[3] Perhaps during Locke's exile in Holland he kept the Earl of Clarendon supplied with lettuce-seed.

a Parliament now sitting where (viz., in the House of Lords) our friend Thomas's case[1] makes at this day a great noise, and well it may, the Bishops' bench having unfortunately (as 'tis doubted) raised a spirit that may make 'em work to get down again, touching the power of the Archbishop or the whole body of that order, separately from the secular Lords in Parliament, to deprive any one of their number; it having been strenuously and publickly contended there by Sir Thomas Powys[2] and Sir B. Shore[3] at the Lords' barr as counsel for St David's, and 'tis said with great appearance of its being determined on his side, and the rather from the Bishop of Salisbury's[4] being sayd to be driven so near the wall in his defence of the Archbishop's metropolitan power herein, as to assert its being a remainder, never yet taken from him by the Reformation, of the legantine power his predecessors heretofore enjoyed from the Pope. An argument that is sayd to have done no good to his cause. With which, committing you to God's protection, I rest,[5] Your most affectionate Uncle,

S. Pepys.

Don't misconstrue my useing another's herein, I being, I blesse God, in perfect health, but willing to spare my eyes in a letter of this length.

157 [MS. ii. 40*a*]. Mr Pepys to Mr Martin [*Copy*].[6]

*London, December 7, 1699, O.S.*

Sir,—Could I have told whither to have directed it, you had not so long wanted my acknowledgments of the welcome

[1] Thomas Watson, Bishop of St David's, had been deprived by the Archbishop of Canterbury for simoniacal practices in 1697. He protested against the deprivation as *ultra vires*, and attempted to revive his claim to the privilege of peerage. On December 6, 1699, the day before Pepys's letter was written, the House of Lords had decided against him on this point.

[2] Sir Thomas Powys, as Attorney-General, had conducted the prosecution of the Seven Bishops in 1688.

[3] Sir Bartholomew Shower (or Shore) had been counsel for the Crown against the Seven Bishops.

[4] Gilbert Burnet the historian.

[5] From this point the letter is in Pepys's own hand.

[6] A first draft of this letter (*holograph*), much corrected, is given in the MS. (ii. 40).

favour of yours from Lyons; nor send I them now with any assurance of their meeting you, or where, or when. But be it where it will, I have enjoyed too long a friendship with, and own too many obligations to your family, to want a most tender esteem for such a branch of it as yourself, besides what I with great pleasure see due to you on the score of your own most laudable character, which God encrease.

My nephew's good fortune also in your fellowship in your travell is matter of great content to me, in the mutual offices of friendship incident to such an undertaking, and of which I doubt not the success to both your satisfactions while abroad, or to your friends from the improvements you shall bring home with you at your return. Which wishing safe to you when ready for it, I do with great respect remain, Sir, Your most humble and most affectionate servant, S. Pepys.

158 [MS. ii. 47]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Leghorn, December* $\frac{[7]}{17}$, 1699.

Honoured Sir,—I thought I should have left my heart at Genoua amidst the charms which that beautifull city afforded me the 2 first days of our being there; but the difficultys wee found in getting away very much allayed this passion of mine. Wee reckoned upon departing thence the 10th in a feleuca for this place; but neither wind nor weather served. Wee were prevailed with to stay the 11th and the 12th in hopes of their changing, and saving us a most tedious and chargeable journey by land; but they continuing fixt in opposition to us, and the delay of a day or 2 more there being what would have rendred it absolutely impossible for us to have reached Rome earlily enough to have been at the opening of the Jubilee, wee undertook the journey by land hither: sett-out from Genoua the 13th, and through all the dangers that the worst of mountains, rocks, precipices, and waters can together make (to which the Alps are nothing in comparison, yet such

as afforded their entertainments also), gott hither, I thank God, very safe this afternoon, and very well pleased to find no feleucas arrived before us, nor likely to come in several days; no more than Captain Lake, comander of the *Hampshire*, who offered us the conveniency of his ship hither, then lying in harbour ready to sail with the first opportunity.

For want of more time to spend here, I must content my selfe with having spent this afternoon in viewing the Mole and harbour, and sett-out to morrow morning at the opening of the gates for Rome; which, by the nearest cutt and with the greatest expedition, will yet cost us 4½ days more. But now, God be thankt, wee are gott into a very fine country, where wee have more than an English April-sun, and shall I hope goe merrily along. The horrour of our mountains ended at Sarsana Tuesday-night last; where wee began to travail in *cambiatura*.[1] Wee came this morning by Pisa (whose curiositys wee saw) and shall make it our first stage again to morrow; from whence by Siena, etc., to Rome. Where I long to meet with your commands and the joyfull tidings of your good health.

I have been with Mr Ball [2] and received a letter of credit from him on Signor Rizzi at Rome for 1000 dollars; of which I perceive he had given no advice to him, nor perhaps would, had I not accidentally come this way and called upon him for it: which would have been a great disappointment to me, I depending upon it.

The rest I begg leave to referr till I have had the honour of yours at Rome; and it being now late, conclude with begging your blessing, and remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew,

J. Jackson.

One Captain Banks is arrived here this morning from England, with severall gentlemen bound for Rome, after a tedious passage of above 2 months.

[1] See p. 187 above.

[2] The Messrs Robert and Thomas Balle referred to on pp. 191, 192 above.

159 [MS. ii. 49]. Dr Shadwell[1] to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Paris, December* $\frac{[11]}{21}$, [1699].

Dear Sir,—I recievd yours from Genoa on Saturday last with a great deale of pleasure, since it brought the good newes of your safe arrival over the mountains, for which I was in paine. The pleasant season for the travellours I suppose is all attributed to the prayers of the Church, but I suppose you think it no great matter whom you owe it to. Ime obligd to you for the compliment you make me upon your success; if good wishes will procure you it youle never want mine.

By a letter youle find from me at Rome, youle see the mighty uneasiness Mr Pepys has been in upon the miscarriage of yours that you left at the inn here, but since upon its being found the scene is very much alterd, and I recievd a letter lately from him fraught with satisfaction upon all accounts. Your last from Genoa came just as the packet was going, which I stopt to send your two enclosd.

Mrs Hatton and my Lady Throgmorton you see take care of you, and I hope these letters will be of service to you. I wish I could any ways contribute to it; you shall always find me ready, and very much, Dear Sir, Your friend and servant,

John Shadwell.

160 [MS. ii. 44]. Mr Paul Lorrain to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*London, December* 14, [16]99, *Old Stile, about* 5 *evening.*

Sir,—I just now received your most welcome letter from Genoua of the 8th instant N.S., as I did long before the favour of yours from Shoreham, which I answered, but had my letter returned, by reason of your having left that place before it could reach thither. Sir, I return you many thanks for your

[1] See note on p. 196 above.

kind remembrance of me; and I do assure you that of all the many friends you have here, none can pray more heartily for your welfare than myself, who have partaken of all your sufferings, and now am a sharer in the good fortune you have of being got so far safe and in health. God's Providence attend you whithersoever you go. I must confess I am glad at my heart to hear you are already so far, for the further you are now the sooner you will be nearer us; where indeed I could also wish you to be, if that were to be wished, at this time. As the best amends that can be made me for the loss of your presence here, I see with much pleasure that you intend me the favour of letting me hear often from you, and I hope you will also honour me with your commands. Those in relation to your brother shall be presently[1] obeyed; I intending to let him know by this very night's post (being Thursday) how and where you were the 28 ult.

Mrs Dugdale would not take your 4 guineas in payment of her bills; she telling me that she could not abate one groat, and that most of the articles therein are layings-out of her own, by which she gets nothing at all. She desires me to give her service to you, and to assure you that she was so far from dunning you (as she fears you apprehended), that she should be most willing to wait for her money till your return into England, though you should stay many years abroad. As for Mr Frazer, he has my note still, and is like to keep it a while longer, for I have still yours upon Mr Pulleyn, whom (after having been above 20 times to the Temple to seek him) I understand at last to be sick in the country, so as not to be able to have come-up this term, whatever he may the next. His Honour (your Unkle) has of late been again much indisposed with a great cold, that was followed by a fit or 2 of an ague. But, I bless God, he is now in good health again. So with my wife's humble thanks and services, and my own, I now take my leave of you, and remain, Kind Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant, PAUL LORRAIN.

How do's Mr Pattison?

[1] *i.e.* immediately.

161 [MS. ii. 45]. Mr James Houblon to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Friday night, December* 15, 1699.

Sir,—I was extreamly concerned for your relapse, as I am rejoict for your recovery, which I earnestly wish may be perfect, and of long continuance. I perceive by Mr Jackson's letter he is taking the shortest cutt to Rome, time obliging him to it, to get thither by the opening of the Jubilee. My father, as I am, will be much pleased if our friends of Genoa have had any opportunity of being serviceable to Mr Jackson.

The post for all parts of Italy go's away to night by way of Flanders, but the most expeditious is by way of France. I shall write our friends of Venice this night, to send forward your packet to Rome addresst to Signor Rizzi. My father is from home; when he returns I will communicate to him the contents of your nephew's letter, which I have deliverd back open to your servant. Pardon hast in, Sir, Your most affectionate, faithfull, humble servant,

James Houblon, Jr.

162 [MS. ii. 50]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*Rome, Christmas Day,* [*December* $\frac{15}{25}$] 1699.

Honoured Sir,—'Tis with no small pleasure that I am at length come to date from this renowned City; nor will it, I am persuaded, bee an unwelcome circumstance to you. Wee made our entry here on Tuesday last, about 23 a clock, and were soon after deafned with the jangling of all the bells of the town, which for severall days, morning and evening, had proclaimed the approach of the Holy Year. Our first visit, as you may imagine, was to St Peter's, to see the preparations for this great solemnity; where wee found them busy in building of scaffolds about the Porta Santa, which is a lesser

[1] Printed, but with large unacknowledged omissions, in Braybrooke, v. 284.

door on the right hand entring, within the Portico. The Portico runs the whole length of the Facciata, and is about twice the breadth of that before Covent-Garden-Church. Without it, nothing of the opening of the Door could bee seen, nor within it much farther than the middle door: which afforded but little space for scaffolds, part whereof was destined for the ladys, Roman and forreign, part for the Q[ueen] of Poland and her suite, part for the Embassadors, and a seperate one (the most remote) for the gentlemen strangers, where not above 100, I am sure, could see well. The seats for the Cardinals and Bishops, etc., assisting, were on the Area, where also were a good number of persons of the first quality to be admitted. But with all this, I entertained but very little hopes of seeing what I was come so far for; till encouraged by Father Mansfield (Rector of the College of English Jesuits here), to whom I was recommended by my Lady Throgmorton and Sir D. Arthur,[1] he having an interest with the 2 prelates appointed for the placing of strangers on. By which means, in short, and force of crowding, both Mr Martin and myselfe have had the good fortune to see all the minutest parts of this most solemn ceremony; the whole process of which, falling within my notice, was this:—

The morning (being yesterday the 24th) was ushered-in with the jangling of the bells I have already mentioned. Souldiers, of our trained-band-like mien,[2] were placed in divers quarters of the town to prevent disorders, and chiefly in the Piazza of St Peter's, where were the Swiss-Halberdiers in red and yellow, and a troop of horse in armour drawn-up. About 16 a clock wee gott into our places, and about 23 began the Procession from the Vatican through the Corridore into the Piazza and so into the Portico; drums beating, etc., all the while. First came the Quiristers and officiating Priests, with tapers in their hands, singing; then the Bishops; and last of all the Cardinals in their Pontificalibus; the Cardinal de Bouillon (appointed by the Pope to perform this office in his stead, by reason of his extream illness) closing the whole, and being distinguisht from the rest by a mitre of rich gold

[1] See note on p. 226 above.

[2] MS. "mine."

stuff, the others being of white damask. After a short Office, with some singing (neither of which could be well distinguisht) the Cardinal advanced to the Holy Door; the guns of Castell S. Angelo were discharged; and he knockt thrice with a silver-hammer on a small cross of brass fixt in the mortar of the Door; pausing a few minutes between each stroke, whilst some words were repeated. Having given the last stroke, he retired a little, and down fell the Door, which made no small dust, being of brick plaistered on both sides, and kept together by a frame of wood round, and supported on the inside with props; which being taken away, it fell into a case sett to receive it for its more ready removal; the Cardinals, etc., entring afterwards to sing vespers, and the people by degrees following in most astonishing crowds. There was a Throne with 6 paces [1] prepared for the Pope, of crimson-velvett, close by the Door; but he not being there, no use was made of it. The scaffold was hung with tapestry, and crimson-damask with stripes of gold galoon, as are also all the pilasters of St Peter's, and some other of the churches in the City.

In the mean time others of the Cardinals, etc., in cavalcade went to the Campidoglio, and there divided to go to the 3 other churches,[2] to open each of their Holy Gates also, but of this I saw nothing.

The chief English here, were my Lord Exeter and Lady,[3] etc., Lord Mounthermer,[4] Lord Plimouth, Mr Cecil, and Mr Bruce, etc.; my Lady Salisbury [5] being prevented by the small pox breaking-out that very morning upon her, of which she is said to be now dangerously ill.

I afterwards saw the Cardinals' supper in the Vatican-Palace, which both for form and substance was very singular, and from hence went to the midnight devotions at St Lorenzo, where I heard most ravishing musick suited to the occasion;

[1] *I.e.* steps leading up to it.
[2] St Paul's, the Lateran, and Sta Maria Maggiore.
[3] John Cecil, fifth Earl of Exeter. He refused to take the oaths at the Revolution of 1688, and lived much abroad. He married Anne Cavendish, the daughter of the third Earl of Devonshire and widow of Lord Rich.
[4] John Montagu, afterwards second Duke of Montagu. At this time he was bearing the courtesy title of Viscount Monthermer.
[5] The widow of James Cecil, fourth Earl of Salisbury.

Paluccio, an admired young eunuch, singing, and Corelli, the famous violin, playing, in concert with at least 30 more; all at the charge of Cardinal Ottoboni, who assisted.

The crowd still continues at St Peter's so great, with pilgrims going-in at the Holy Gate on their knees, that I have not yet been able to make my way through it; but I have gott a piece of the ruins of it, which will serve in the mean time to support my devotion.

'Tis very uncertain what the Pope's condition is at present. At the very instant of the ceremony yesterday wee overheard some of the English Jesuits telling others as a secret that he certainly died the day before about 23 a clock.[1] But not having heard this confirmed since, I doubt much of the truth of it. He is at least said by every body to be extreamly ill, and could not do a greater piece of service to the strangers than to dropp off at this juncture, to compleat their shew by a *Sede vacante*; to which some are of opinion will be added a Canonization this Holy Year; and after that I think there would remain nothing more to be wished for by us.

What measures this or any other considerations may engage us in with regard to our stay here, my next shall not fail of advertising you; and in the mean time I must begg you to be assured of my husbanding both my time and expence the best I am able. The greatest inconvenience I apprehend is from the distance now between us, and the time requisite for my receiving an answer from you. May it not be some advance to lodge your letters with Dr Shadwell at Paris, who will have advice of my motions some days before you? The latter of those he was so kind as to convey to me to Venice (viz., that of November 6th) has, in consequence of mine thither from Turin, mett mee here, and no other. I am overjoyed to understand by it the restoration of your own and Sir J. Houblon's health, and the continuance of the rest of my friends', except Mr Hatton's and Mr Sergeson's; which are indeed very unwelcome exceptions. I hope your next will also bring me the good tidings of their recovery, towards which whatever my best wishes and prayers can contribute

[1] Pope Innocent XII did not die until September 27, 1700.

they shall not want; no more than the former my observance of his commands relating to his list of books he commissioned me to buy here.

I hope my letters for England have been more duly rendred you, of which that you may the better judge, I wrote from Paris twice, Lyons once, Geneva twice, Turin once, Genoua once, Leghorn once, and the present from hence. Whose length I am to begg your pardon for, and its preventing my saluting my friends more particularly. I am, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

Happy and merry Xmas to all.

163 [MS. ii. 40*a*]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[1]

*Yorke Buildings, December* 18, 1699.

Nephew,—I send this at randome, as haveing noe certaine light where it will finde you; and yet I would not omitt to try, though it bee but to give you duplicates of what I lately wrott you on the same uncertainty, that if one misses, the other may speed better. For I have noe new matter to write upon since my last, saveing that of my receipt of yours of the 8th instant from Genöa, telling mee of your lucky comeing thither for the sight of an extraordinary solemnity there, and your purpose of being soone gone thence towards Legorne. But how I come to heare nothing of you from Turin but what my Lady Throgmorton tells mee of your 3 days stay there, from some friends of the Conte de Broäl,[2] I know [not].

Besides that, you are very remisse in not finding a time to write to Mr James Houblon, to whom and whose House you have allready, and must depend upon a continued cours of obligations, from the use of theyr friends where ever you come; and to my trouble I finde they expect it. Not that I have omitted the noteing to them what you have sayd to mee on that head; but that is not enough, and therefore pray repayre

[1] A duplicate copy of this is also given in the MS. (ii. 48).
[2] Possibly Breuil.

it as soone, as fully, and as often as you can, however spareing you may bee elsewhere. Your Geneva-mony I have payd to Monsr. Moussar, who and his family are very kinde to you, and I acknowledge it. Mr James Houblon has this day told mee that at my desire hee has wrott to his correspondents at Venice to forward the letter I had lodged for you there to Rome.

Your friends about and neare mee, and my selfe, I blesse God in particular, are at this time all in perfect health, and should bee glad to heare the same of yours. Give Mr Martin my very humble services (haveing wrott him lately, as you will see from the copy),[1] and with wishes of a good event of your voyage to [Rome?],[2] I rest, Your truly affectionate Uncle, S. Pepys.

164 [MS. ii. 51]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome*, [*December* 22, 1699] / [*January* 1, 1700], *New Year's Day*,
17^mi^ *ab incarnatione sæculi* 1^mo^.
*Quod felix faustumque sit.*

Honoured Sir,—I doubt not of your allowing me a line extraordinary, to begin this century with my prayers for its proving prosperous to you and all my friends; and that there may bee occasion for using the same liberty with you the next.

In my last to you on Xmas-day by the Milan-post, which is lookt upon here to be much more regular and sure, though not always so expeditious as the French, I left nothing that I remember unsaid but what related to our stay here, for which I took leave to referr you to my next. The difficultys wee mett with in getting lodgings here had almost made us resolve to quitt the town immediately, and pursue some other part of our tour, either to Naples, Civita Veccia, or Florence, etc., in the interim, till the town was thinned a little; but after

[1] A copy of the letter to Mr Martin (No. 157) was sent to John Jackson with this.
[2] The MS. is torn here.

8 days diligent search, wee have at last found 2 or 3 chambers to our satisfaction, where I hope wee shall be able to avoid splitting on the rock which I observe few of our English can keep clear of: that is, the herding with one another in ordinarys and coffee-houses, where they engage in play, and scarce hear a word of Italian from morning to night.

Being thus settled (in the Strada di Condutta, near the Corso and the Piazza d'Espagna), our present thoughts are to apply ourselves to the language and the curiositys of the town for about a month, and then go to the Carnaval at Naples, which some that have seen both preferr before that of Venice. Hence back to compleat our studys here till the Holy Week, and the ceremonys of that season ended, sett-out for Venice, in order to the making the best of our way homewards, unless a *Sede vacante* (which is much expected, though the Pope be at present said to be better) should happen to call for a fortnight's stay longer; wherein, as I said in my last, I would not doubt of your indulgence.

I received a letter yesterday from Dr Shadwell with the tidings of your good health by his last from London, which are very welcome at so great a distance, and which I cannot but think I should have been favoured with from yourselfe 'ere this, had not they mett with some of those unlucky delays and misadventures which he tells me mine from Honfleur, and my last very long one from Paris (enclosing acquittances for all the monys I paid on Mrs Skynner's account) have done.

The principal entertainments those Holydays have afforded us have been the musick, and the reliques exposed in the churches: wherein, as to the former, none have exceeded that at the English College on St Thomas of Becket's day, where Bishop Ellis [1] officiated, 19 Cardinals assisted, and so many English gentlemen were present as occasioned particular notice to be taken of it.

I have only to close with the prayers I began with for yourselfe and the rest of my honoured friends, Mrs Skynner, Mr Hewer, etc., Sir J. Houblon, etc., Mr and Mrs Desgallinieres, etc., Saturday's table [2] (particularly Captain Hatton), with

[1] See note on p. 231 above. [2] See note on p. 248 above.

all your neighbourhood; and remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

I begg your making my excuses for not writing where respect might require it from me, my moments of leisure being very few here.

*Saturday*, [*December* 23, 1699] / *January* 2, 1700.

At my bringing this letter to day to my banquier, Signor Rizzi, I have taken-up of him 100 dollars (*alias* 84½ Roman crowns), running in my Italian acquittances in these words,—Pezze cento da ∽8 reals.[1]

[A "copy of Monsignor Bellisono's Catalogue of MSS. to be sold here: produced at his conversations and procured last night for me by Mr Monro," which follows in the MS. (ii. 52), has been here omitted.]

165 [MS. ii. 53]. Mr Roger Gale to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Paris*, [*December* 27, *O.S.* 1699] / *January* 6, *N.S.* 1700.

Honoured Sir,—The reason of my not answering your last most obliging letter of the 4th past I suppose you have already from Dr Shadwell, and therefore I doubt not but long ago you have excused my silence. I am now again, thank God, got abroad, and once more in a capacity of serving you, which is no small addition to the satisfaction of seing my self well, and indeed I shall think I have made a fair composition if I escape without any farther indisposition, since nobody here must think to passe without some illnesse, and mine was as favourable as could well be desired in that kind. I am extremely glad, Sir, to hear from Dr Shadwell that you have received the rest of Grævius's[2] titles; the gentleman that

[1] *Pezze* is for *pezzi*, *i.e.* "100 pieces (coins) at 8 reals Spanish,"—in fact the "pieces of eight" of adventure-stories. John Jackson needed Spanish dollars because he was intending to visit Naples.

[2] John George Graevius (1632–1703), a learned philologer, born in Saxony, who became Professor of Eloquence at Utrecht. He was the author of a number of works.

brought them to you, I suppose, is Mr Trent (for I have not heard from him), and let me begg the favour of you, Sir, if you see him again, to return him my thanks for his care; if I knew how to direct to him I would do it myself. As for Father Mabillon,[1] I had recommendations to him from my father,[2] and see him every day almost, and have brought Dr Shadwell acquainted with him, with whom the old gentleman is very much taken. I have received always such civilitys from him, that I can assure you he will be glad to answer any request I can make him, and therefore, Sir, I shall expect your learned propositions to him with impatience, that you may be satisfyed therein as soon as possible. If there is any thing farther you desire, pray let me know, and in it you shall find me, Your most obedient and humble servant,

Ro. Gale.

Pray, Sir, to M[rs] Skinner my best respects and most humble service.

166 [MS. ii. 55]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome*, [*December* 30, 1699] / *January* 9, [1700].

Honoured Sir,—Not having yet had the pleasure of receiving any of your commands here, I have little more to offer you at present than my humblest duty to yourselfe and services to all my honoured friends. In pursuance of the resolutions my last (of the 1st instant) acquainted you with, wee are now plying our Italian very hard, and on Monday next shall enter upon our course of antiquitys; which together will find us full employment till our going to Naples about 3 weeks hence. What little time may be spared from these, I shall spend in making myselfe acquainted with the City, and more or less with all the varietys of its entertainments, which are very few: musick twice a week at Don Livio's (where I was last night), a conversation of wits at another Roman's house as often, and now and then a little

[1] See note on p. 246 above. [2] The Dean of York.

ball at a dancing-school, being all that I have yet been able to inform myselfe of, and more than I believe I shall be tempted to go twice to, except Don Livio's, which is the only one that deserves name. For operas and comedies, they are wholly forbidd this Sacred Year; to the great grief of most of our young gentlemen here, who, impatient of so insipid an amusement as the bare study of antiquitys only, are hastening away as fast as they can for the Carnevals of Naples and Venice.

By the last French post, I sent you, by the way of Dr Shadwell, our printed account of the opening of the Holy Gates, the introduction whereto will shew the reason of my dating my last to you from the beginning of the 18th century; the proverb requiring me when at Rome to do as they do here, though against my own sentiment. I hope 'ere long to have an opportunity also of justifying my selfe by the same rule for kissing his Holinesse's Toe, who is still said to grow daily better.

I had by yesterday's post a very obliging letter from Dr Shadwell, enclosing me also letters of recommendation from Mrs Hatton and Lady Throgmorton. I begg you, with my humble services, to make my acknowledgments to Captain Hatton for this favour of my Lady his sister's, to whom I shall take the liberty of paying my own respects and thanks by the next French post. I most impatiently wait the good tidings of his recovery. The same letter brought me likewise the satisfaction of your having at last received the letter I committed to the Dr's conveyance from Paris, after the despair he had putt mee into concerning it.

'Tis an universal complaint here amongst the English that they cannot receive any letters from England by the Milan-post, which is the direct one from thence, and wee begin to be jealous of foul play at the post-office, for which divers reasons are suggested, but chiefly the apprehensions which perhaps may be conceived from the vast number of Germans here, who are computed at about 3000. The letter of yours I had from Venice came opened to me, with an excuse from Signor De Berti for its having been done by the Government

for fear of the plague (they drying them, it seems, before the fire in such cases), but I hear not of any such apprehensions here that should cause the delays or miscarriages I speak of.

Lady Salisbury is pretty well again, but [Lord] Exeter is said to be somewhat indisposed; but [perhaps] only till his equipage be ready, at which they are working night and day at a Scotch taylor's over against me. His livery will be grey, trimmed with silver-buttons and holes; and about a dozen in number.

I pray my compliments may be as particular as in my last, though for your ease I for this time forbear names; and with begging your blessing, remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

It may be for service to tell you that this country is full of the unfair practices of one that was Secretary to Admiral Russel;[1] he being said to have committed so many cheats (in company with a woman that has been in the Rasp-House[2] in Holland) by counterfeiting of hands, etc., all along the Mediterranean coast from Cadiz to Leghorn, that if ever he be catcht he will inevitably be putt into the galleys, and that without assistance from his friends in England 'twill be next to impossible for him to escape.

Mr Martin desires me to present his humble service to you.

167 [MS. ii. 58]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, Saturday January* $\frac{\text{[6, 1699–1700, } O.S.\text{]}}{\text{16, 1700, } N.S.}$

Honoured Sir,—I write at present with little expectation of its coming to your hands; it being only to the defects of this post that I can impute my not yet having had the happiness of one line from you during my now more than 3 weeks abode here. I think, therefore, from Tuesday next, to begin with conveying my duty to you by the French post through Dr

[1] Edward Russell, created Earl of Orford in 1697.

[2] A house of correction in Holland and Germany where prisoners were employed in rasping wood.

Shadwell's hands; and in that view shall at present only add that I bless God I am in perfect health, and most impatiently long to recieve some mark from yourselfe of your being so; remaining, with profoundest respect and duty, Honoured Sir, Your most obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

*Saturday, 7 at night.*

I had wrott and sealed the above when, beyond all my hopes, yours of the 7th ult. O.S. came to my hands, and brought me the glad tidings of your own good health, as well as of the recovery of Sir J. Houblon and Mr Sargeson,[1] with whom I begg you in my name to congratulate hereon. I interpret also your silence concerning Captain Hatton to the advantage of his health, and that he is one of your Saturday's table [2] who honour me with their remembrance; which I esteem as a most particular favour, and desire my acknowledgments may be made suitable.

The safe arrival of this gives me heart again, and makes me hope I have unjustly arraigned the post. Reckoning therefore upon your recieving, soon or late, all the letters I have wrote you, either in my route or since my arrivall here, I shall need only to referr you to those for answer to most of your present particulars. By those from Turin and Genoa, etc., you will find the route wee were necessitated at last to take; and by those from hence what has been done by ourselves or the publick hitherto, and what wee propose with your approbation to do next. They will also have informed you that of your 2 letters sent to Venice I received only the latter, wherein was no mention of Mr Desgalliniere's removal, which is therefore as surprising as welcome to me, in prospect of its being advantagious to him. Be pleased in your first to him to let him know how sensibly I partake with him herein; though I can hardly avoid admitting some reluctant thoughts, when I look forward upon the loss I shall have of his company at my return to London.

My Lord Clarendon has done me a great honour and pleasure

[1] See note on p. 194 above.

[2] See note on p. 248 above.

in naming any thing wherein I may be serviceable to his Lordship here; I am only sorry 'tis not something more considerable. But in the mean time I shall, in one manner or other, endeavour to shew my readiness to obey his present commands, as I shall also your own and Captain Hatton's; having a very good friend and assistant of Father Mansfield in what relates to buying of books, etc.

I have delivered your enclosed and compliments to Mr Martin, who received them with great respect; returning you his humble service and thanks. I beseech your making mine also acceptable to the whole company at your entertainment in Rood-Lane, and to the rest of Mr Hewer's family; and with them, to his nieghbours Mrs Crawleys.

St David's,[1] I perceive, has managed his affairs much more dexterously than I expected; and in pique to Salisbury more than good will to him I should not be sorry to hear of his having gott the better.

The Pope is said now to grow daily better and better; which is the only publick theme at present. For my own employment here, I have nothing to add to what my last brought you. Nor any thing more, but my humblest duty to yourselfe and services to Mrs Skynner, Mr Mussard and family, Mr and Mrs Tollett, and rest of friends and nieghbours. I would not forget Major Aungier also.

I am told by Father Mansfield to day that there are 2 folio books just now come-out, of perspective, etc., relating to St Peter's, by the most eminent masters in Rome, and the finest of the kind that ever were done. Of which my next may say something more particularly, I being to see them at his Lodge to morrow.

168 [MS. ii. 54]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Copy*].[2]

*Londne, Monday January* 8, 1699–1700, *Old Stile.*

Nephew,—You will wonder at this distance to see soe short an episile as this from me, when indeed I coud with a great

[1] See note on p. 250 above. [2] This letter is in Mrs Skynner's hand.

deale of pleasuer have aforded a greater length than any you have had from me yett, but 'tis because I have too much to say in the time I have to say it in, that I forbare the present makeing it more, to be suplyd at length by the very next post, for I woud not have you lose one moment of the satisfaction I know it will be of to you to be told that your letter from rome a Christmas-day is newly and most gladly com to my hand, with the acount it containes of the preseding day's solemnety, and the profe it gives me of the great aplycasion which I am sensible it must have cost you to give me soe quick a report of it, as beleveing it to be if not the only, at least the fullest acount that is yett com heather of it.

I will not fayle to foroward another to you by the way of paris, as you desire, by the very next, which will be thursday, and therefore will not breake into any perticulares now, as knowing nothing I have before me but what the secureing thus much to you by this will very well recompen[s]e such a delay.

This only know (least my present use of another hand shoud leade you to suspect the contrary) that all your frinds within my vew, and my selfe most perticulerly, are, I thank god, at this day in perfect health. Som of [the] learnedest of [them], namely, Captain Hatton, Mr Eveling, and Dr Smith, and probably others, will be my guest[s] to morow in order to the heareing this acount of youres and communing upon its contents. With which, and my servisses to Mr Martian, I commit you to God's protecting, and rest, Your very afectionat unkle,

[S. P.]

169 [MS. ii. 9]. Lord Reay to Mr Pepys [*Dictated*].[1]

*Invernesse, January* 9, [1699–]1700.

Sir,—I hade yours some tyme agoe, and was delaying my returne in expectation to have sent you the manuscript I promised. But being oblidged to stay some tyme from home, you cannot expect it so soone. I don't know whether to thank

[1] A duplicate of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 9). Lord Braybrooke also prints it (iv. 274), but omits a passage without acknowledgment.

or blame you for your letter, which contained many things I did not deserve. But we are apt to beleive all that is said to our advantadge, which is a great failling. And you'l excuse me to say you was too complesant. You may, if ye think it worth the whyle, communicat my letter to whom you please, for there is nothing in it but I know to be true or have good authors for; and think it needless (though I have heard many) to relaite any more stories of the second sight save one, which hapened since I wrote my last. A gentleman who was maried to a cousen of Drynie's, living in the county of Ross, having come to waite of him one night at his own house, called him to the door (the ordinary complements being past) to speak to him about some business. But when they went out he was so frightned that he fainted, and being recovered would nowayes stay in the house that night, but went with his wife to a fermer's hard by, where shee asking why he left the house, he told publickly that he knew Drynie would dye that night, for when they went to the door he saw his wynding sheet about him. And accordingly the gentleman dyed that night, though he went to bed in perfect health and hade no sickness for some tyme befor. I had this storie from Drynie's son, the fermer, his servant, and the man himselfe who saw it. For my pairt, I am fully convinced of this sight, but what to atribute it to I know not, neither can I be convinced no more than you that it depends on the quality of either air or eyes, but would gladly know your opinion of it. I assure you I have been at a daile of paines to informe myselfe in this, and you shall find me as carfull in what else you recommend to me. I hope to see you shortly in London, and am, Sir, Your verie humble servant, REAY.

The badness of my rule occasions my making use of another.

170 [MS. ii. 56]. MR PEPYS TO MR JOHN JACKSON [*Holograph*].[1]

*Thursday, Jan.* 11, 1699–1700, *O.S.*

NEPHEW JACKSON,—I referred you, in the little I wrott you by the last of the 8th instant, to what I should say to you more

[1] A duplicate copy of this letter is also given in the MS. (ii. 57).

particularly by this, upon the contents of yours of 17th of December N.S. from Legorne and of Christmas-Day from Rome; beginning with my kinde thankes to you for both, they comeing to hand both together on Saturday the $\frac{6}{16}$ currant.

Your land-journy from Genöa to Leghorne, since it is over, I am very well pleased with, though I should very uneasily have advised it. But it has both wrought and rivetted in you some ideas of your rencounters therein that probably you would never have duly had by hearsay or picture. I wish you had only had a longer and closer observation of the moles and harbours at each place than you can have had opportunity for, or would have consisted with the sight of the silver hammer.

But I am sorry, and soe is Sir James Houblon too and surprized at Mr Ball's omission, after having told him by letter long agoe that hee had actually sent away the credit desired to Signor Rizzi at Rome. But it has happened well, and soe not worthy more præsent notice of it.

I have given my Lady Throckmorton my acknowledgments of the successe of her letters on your behalfe, and shall doe the like to Sir D. Arthur. It being of mighty pleasure to mee that you had soe full a sight of the maister-ceremony at this great solemnity; there being but one sight more thereat that was not now to bee had, namely, the person of the Pope and the Triple Crowne. But I doubt not but you will finde some other meanes of supplying it, if it bee any way to bee done.

Your curiosity in finishing the day with the midnight devotion at San Lorenzo I greatly like, wishing only that you carryed more of the musician about you, to have made the most of that night's pleasure, both there and at the Vatican-supper.

There seems little doubt to bee made of a *Sede vacante* in a little time, if any reports bee true; and here they begin to talk as much of a Canonization. I wish them both for your own and fellow-travailler's sakes since you are abroad; that you may have nothing more there to wish for when you are

come away. But pray remember, whenever it shall be, that you bring some of your holy brick-dust with you.

As little concerned as I am in it, I can't but lament my Lady Salsbury's misfortune in falling ill at the point of her whole life when shee had at most cost and payne præpared for the makeing it most pleasurable to her.

I am greatly at ease that you have remembred to write to Mr James Houblon, his father and hee comeing on purpose to advertize mee of your haveing safely passed Leghorne just upon my receiveing your letters from thence and Rome. By which I had the pleasure at once of giveing Mr James his, and entertaining them both with your account of the ceremony. Pray omitt not soe long againe to shew your remembrance of that family.

I take notice and shall follow your advice in [lodgeing?] letters for you at Paris, as the quickest way for your haveing them.

If you provide as well for my satisfaction touching your well-husbanding of your expence as you have hitherto done of your time, there will bee noe falling out at the end of your journy; of which I should now bee glad to know something, how you meane to steere it.

Give Mr Martin my services, and tell him that hee and you both were kindly remembered yesterday at my table by my honoured freind his father, Mr Hewer, and his brother Bowdler, whose familys are all well, and delighted that hee is soe. None of the letters you mention have fayled mee but that from Turin, whatever mine to you may have done, viz.: one to Venice of the 30 October; another November 6 by Dr Shadwell; one to you and another to Mr Martin December 7, directed to Seignr. Rizzi at Rome; another of the 18th ditto to you only; and one by the very last post the 8th instant, all Old Stile, to ditto at Rome.

Finde some way (though it bee a little vulgar) to name your friends you would salute; for they generally must see your letters, and it looks as if they were forgott, to finde themselfes never named. Adieu. S. Pepys.

171 [MS. ii. 61]. Mr Martin to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, January* [13, 1699–1700] 23, 1700.

Sir,—The honour you have done me is too great not to command my acknowledgments in a perticular manner for the favour of those lines from your self, which I very highly esteem. They are none of the smallest pleasures of my present voyage, the company and friendship of Mr Jackson, with which I am entirely satisfied and I hope he has no reason to complain of me. The curiosities of this place are well worth consideration, and we propose to our selves the double advantage of pleasure and improvement in admiring of them. We have seen St Peter's Church, the Vatican Palace, and another of Prince Burghese; in these alone are sufficiently to be found those wonderfull masterpeices in architecture, painting, and sculpture, and if the modern artists of the present age cannot come up to that heigth and degree of perfection with those of the former, it must be because the works of those antients are so entirely perfect they are not to be exceeded, and so, though they should be equally fine and good, we prefer the beauties of the former, because there can [be] but one top of all. But I forget my self in running on to give my sentiments before I am able to judge, and beg your pardon in subscribing with great respect, Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant, J. Martin.

172 [MS. ii. 62]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, January* [13, 1699–1700] 23, 1700,

*arrived February* 5, *O.S.*

Honoured Sir,—Your commands having once found the way hither, I was in hopes of something further from you by this day's post; but have had the misfortune to be disappointed. The next, I hope, will be the more fruitfull.

I have not yet been able to find the copy-book you desire; but another I have of Il Curione's, anno 1619, which I do not remember to bee in your Collection. My commissions in the mean time are given-out for any thing else of this kind, as well as for the performing of the other commands I have been favoured with from your honourable friends.

Which being what chiefly remained of your last requiring present answer from me, I begg you to be refered for other matters to my next by the French post, which possibly may arrive before this; my Italian and antiquitys (which I am now also engaged in) and the thoughts I find necessary towards making a profitable use of them, scarce affording me time for some days past to eat, drink, or sleep.

I therefore humbly begg your pardon and blessing, and in hast remain, Honoured Sir, Your most obedient and dutifull Nephew,

J. Jackson.

'Tis my fault and not Paris's whenever I omitt to present his humble duty to you.

173 [MS. ii. 63]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*Rome, January* [16, 1699–1700 *O.S.*] / 26, 1700 *N.S.*

*Tuesday Evening.*

Honoured Sir,—I had at length the good fortune I was wishing for by last Saturday's post, though not the very moment I expected it; yours of the 18th ult. O.S. coming to hand soon after mine of the same evening was gone; and though I was then prevented in giving you my immediate acknowledgments for this favour, yet I hope this will not come long after my other, and possibly before it. At least, without very ill luck indeed, you will by my former have long since found that not I but the Turin-post alone is blameable for your not having heard of me from thence; that immediately

[1] Note on the back of the letter, in Dr Shadwell's hand: "Pray take care of spilling the seeds in opening this"; see p. 249 above.

upon my arrival here I wrott to Mr James Houblon; and that I have received the letters you have been pleased so kindly to send me copys of in your last: which are its principal articles. For all but my omission towards Mr Houblon I secure my-selfe of your ready excuse; and were you to have been witness of the constant hurry I was in till I gott hither, I should as little doubt of obtaining both his and your pardon for that also; so far at least. I have nothing indeed to justify my not repeating it since but my mad and impetuous pursuit after the language and curiositys of this place, which have hitherto engrossed my whole thoughts and care, but shall for the future make them give way to my discharging my juster debts to London; in the mean time I most humbly begg your pardon.

The 3 Fontane Catacombs and other of our most distant visits being over, I hope the rest will goe off hand apace, and then for Naples; towards which I reckon my next may bring you our last resolutions concerning our departure.

Be pleased to accept my most particular thanks for your adjustments with Mr Mussard, and with humble services to him and rest of my friends, allow me to remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

Lady Salisb[ury] is very well again, but do's not appear yet; no more has Lord Exeter in publick.[1] Our English gentlemen have of late plied their Bassett[2] very warmly, and the famous Colonel Josselin and Sir Philip Moneux[3] lost above their 100*l.* a piece, the greatest part of which Sir G. Maxfield (of St Germains) has won. The Pope continues still in the same doubtfull state; and for that reason the administration of the Government said to be so loose that frequent insolencies and murders are committed in the streets by night, without redress.

I will hope for excuse from Mr Houblon till next post at least, having been all day long upon the hunt, and very much tired.

[1] See p. 265 above.
[2] Basset was a game of cards resembling Faro, first played at Venice.
[3] Sir Philip Monnoux, baronet, of Wotton.

174 [MS. ii. 64]. Dr Shadwell[1] to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Paris, January* [19, 1699–1700] 29, [1700].

*Wednesday.*

Dear Sir,—I this weeke recievd two letters from you which were extremely wellcome, since they brought me the good newes of your being in good health and so well pleasd. I could wish I had seen your account of the cæremonies, which must very well deserve it, but Mr Pepys promises me a copy of it, from whom I last post recievd the enclosd, and I acquainted him as you desird of your having wrote to him by way of Germany, which I find has travelld quicker than it would have done by this roade.

I hope you'le forgive the trouble of the enclosd, which is from my Lady Manchester,[2] since it will give you an oppertunity if you please of being introduced to the most adored, and though her Ladyship has lately had a distemper that is generally an enemy to the faire sex, she may perhaps be the better for it, since it often mends indifferent faces as tobacco does an ill breath. 'Tis a sign I'me at such a distance that I dare be so prophane, but I know you'le keep my counsell. Mr Joslaine I suppose thinkes her much handsomer than ever; if he could have got the physitians to have prescribd his going to bed to her to make the small pox come out, he had done his own buisiness as well as hers, but I'me afraide he'le return *re infectâ*.

This scheme I should have sent you long since, but I hope youle forgive your not recieving it sooner.

My Lady and Mrs Throgmorton[3] with all your friends here are very much yours, as well as, Dear Sir, Your most faithfull friend and humble servant, John Shadwell.

[1] See note on p. 179 above.

[2] Charles Montagu, fourth Earl of Manchester, and afterwards Duke, was at this time Ambassador Extraordinary at Paris.

[3] See p. 233 above. Lady Throgmorton was Captain Hatton's sister (p. 264).

The next post I send your printed account away, it having come too late for the last.

By the sickness of my correspondent, yours that was left here with some of mine lay a fortnight in the office before they were deliverd.

Mr Prior's *Carmen Sæculare*,[1] which is just arrivd here, gives us great entertainment.

175 [MS. ii. 59]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[2]

*Monday, January 22, O.S.*, 1699–1700.

Nephew,—You haveing had a double acknowledgement from mee (of the 8th and 11th instant) of my receiveing your most acceptable letter of Christmas-Day, for the particularitys and dispatch of which I now give you a 3d time my thanks, there is now nothing depending on my side that should furnish mee with any matter for this to you, were it not that under our præsent distance and uncertainty of conveyance, I am willing to give you the satisfaction of knowing that through God's mercy) your friends are all well here, and my selfe in particular; that (as they have opportunity) they are very reguardfull in theyr enquirys after you; that I was lately very much surprized with a visitt from my cosen Roger Gale, upon an unexpected call home, post, from Paris from his fat[h]er, without the least intimation from him of the ground of it, nor direction since his comeing what hee is next to doe (to the noe little discomposure I discerne of his son, which I am greatly sorry for); and that I finde the gentlemen of both our Universitys æqually amused upon our friend Dr Bently's promotion to Trinity-College Maistershipp, and of them few more soe than our friend at Yorke.[3]

I have nothing to add but the kindnesses of all your friends

[1] Matthew Prior's *Carmen Seculare for the Year* 1700 was produced in the winter of 1699.

[2] A duplicate copy of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 60). A paragraph is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 287.

[3] Richard Bentley had just been appointed Master of Trinity, and was admitted on February 1. Dr Thomas Gale, the Dean of York, had hoped for the preferment for himself (see p. 170 above).

here towards you; and to recommend it to you not to forgett a copy (if to bee gott), or at least an accurate and attentive peruseall of H[enry the] 8th's letters, to enable your selfe to rectify the mistakes or cleare the doubts which I hope you will remember occurred to us upon reading our copys thereof. And soe leaving you in God's protection, I rest, Yours most affectionately, S. Pepys.

You should furnish mee with something to say to those friends of ours who have endeavoured to oblige us by theyr recommendatory letters on your behalfe; whatever the fruite of them may have really proved to you.

176 ]MS. ii. 69]. Mr John Jackson to Mr James Houblon [*Holograph draft*].[1]

*Rome, Candlemas-day,* [*January* 23, 1699–1700] / [*February* 2], 1700.

Sir,—Rather than by too long a silence give occasion to your thinking me unmindfull of my obligations to you and your honoured family, I venture being troublesome to you, having little at present to entertain you with from hence. Since the opening of the Holy-Gate (which I took the liberty of referring you to my Unkle for), and the common ceremonies during the Holydays, all has remained so quiet here that divers of our less-curious English gentlemen have been at a loss to know how to spend their time, and for want of other employment been driven to make a business of Bassett;[2] at which Colonel Josselin and Sir Philip Moneux[2] have lost above their 200*l.* apiece to Sir Geo. Maxfield of St Germains, who had the bank. But the Carnavals of Venice and Naples have now broke this knott of gamesters, some being gone to the one and some to the other. Those who design for the Holy Week here, which are much the greater number, goe for Naples,—these last 4 or 5 days past not less than 30 or 40

[1] The draft is much corrected.

[2] See note on p. 274 above.

gentlemen, one day with another,—and to morrow I reckon the crowd will be yet greater, severall persons having staid on purpose to see the ceremony of blessing and distributing the candles this day in the Pope's Chappell, where I had the good fortune to recieve one from the hand of the Cardinal Vicar who performed this office; his Holiness continues in the same lingring condition. I fully purposed to have sett out myselfe this week for Naples, but being advertised by some lately come from thence of the inconveniences on the road by reason of the throng of passengers, and that the end of the Carneval will be the best; and that I can also with less interruption be employing this week here in seeing the rest of the antiquitys, etc., with which I can never be sated; I have thought it more advisable to deferr my journey till the beginning of next. Had the Tramontains [1] continued, which ever since our arrival here till 2 or 3 [days] a goe have blown very fresh and given us a constant frost, I believe I should have prevailed with some company to have joyned with me in going by sea; which I was extreamly desirous of for the sake of seeing antiquities in Ostia, etc., but the weather being changed and the Sciroccos now blowing into the place of the Tramontains, this design is become impracticable.

At my return I intend for Civita-Vecchia, and what is to be seen in the Campagna of Rome; and may possibly find time to reach Florence and be back again before the Holy Week, to avoid being forced to goe so much out of my way in my journy afterwards by Loretto to Venice, where I propose to be at the Ascension, and from thence make the reverse tour of Lombardy which you were pleased to mark-out for mee, and for which I again most humbly thank you, as well as for the more than common reception I have mett with from Signor Rizzi since his having had a letter in my favour from Sir James; to whom and Mr Winn I desire the favour of my humblest services, and leave to remain both their and, Sir, Your most, etc. [J. J.]

[1] The Tramontana or Tramontane was a bitter wind from the north.

177 [MS. ii. 70]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, Candlemas-day,* [*January* 23, 1699–1700] / [*February* 2], 1700.

Honoured Sir,—To what you will find in the enclosed to Mr Houblon, I shall need only to add that I have received another hundred dollars of Signor Rizzi in order to my journey to Naples; in the spending of which I shall never forgett my obligations to the person I owe it to; whose blessing I also humbly crave, and with duty to him and services to all my honoured friends, remain, Honoured Sir, Your most humble and most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

I should have added to Mr Houblon's that last night a part of Cardinal Albano's palace was burnt.

178 [MS. ii. 75]. Dr Shadwell[1] to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Paris,* [*January* 28, 1699–1700 *O.S.*] / *February* 7 [1700 *N.S.*][2]

Dear Sir,—This day sennight I recievd one from you, and at the same time an other for you from England, which I was forcd to send without an answer to your obliging letter, being hinderd writing that post, and it goes but once a week from hence to you. I believe you will find this the best way for your letters to England, for Mr Pepys begins to complain of not having recievd one since your account of the Jubilee, and indeed I hope all that go the other roade will miscarry, since they rob me of the pleasure of hearing from you oftner.

My Lady and Mrs Throgmorton[3] are your humble servants, and desire that you will send the lute strings by the first oppertunity. And since it will be much the same trouble, I beg the favour of you to buy me a sett of lute strings and let them be conveyd by the same hand.

[1] See note on p. 179 above.

[2] A letter from Paris would almost certainly be dated in the New Style, although this is not indicated.

[3] See note on p. 233 above.

Mr Gale,[1] who is gone from hence, left the enclosd note with me, and desird you would oblige him in getting the two bookes for him.

Mrs Hatton and Mrs Jones, who are your humble servants, are both not well, which has given me the oppertunity of seeing the inside of their convent, which was no small diversion to me.

I hope when you return you will not faile to take us in your way, which will be a perticular satisfaction to, Dear Sir, Your most faithfull friend and servant, JOHN SHADWELL.

I shall be glad to heare of the letter I sent to you for the Lady Salisbury, and what is become of Major Joslin.

179 [MS. ii. 65]. MR PEPYS TO MR JOHN JACKSON (*Holograph*).[2]

*Monday, January 29 O.S.*, 1699–1700.

NEPHEW,—I have but just now received yours of the 16th instant N.S., and am putt to't by this post (which I would not loose) to tell you soe; and the rather from the freshnesse of it, though I thinke it comes by the way of Flanders. But I am sorry for your telling mee of others you have wrott mee from Rome since that of Christmas Day, whose receipt I have acknowledged to you by 3 severall letters of the 8th, 11th, and 22nd instant O.S., for as much as by my not haveing yet had any thing from you since, I am wholly in the darke concerning what you seeme to have sayd to mee elsewhere touching your next motion. But I will not despayre but it may yet come.

In the meane time, it is of great satisfaction to my selfe and other your friends here to know that you are well, as it is to mee to bee able to tell you that (I blesse God) wee are all soe; saveing that I have but this very morning lost my old and friendly neighbour, Colonel Bridall.

[1] See note on p. 177 above.

[2] The MS. (ii. 66) gives a duplicate copy of this letter also, with an additional postscript: "The transcriber of this, your servant P. L., has owned the favour of yours of 8 December, and now wishes you (again) all prosperity." P. L. is Paul Lorrain, on whom see note on p. 108 above. Another duplicate, copied by another hand, appears in ii. 67. A brief extract from the letter is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 287.

I shall doe you right in all the commendations your last comes charged with among your friends; but pray lett it bee a piece of your care hereafter not to speake of any letters you have wrott to mee (as you happen to doe in this) without expressing theyr dates.

I am extremely glad of the ayd you have from Father Mansfield in the businesse of books, etc., and leave it to you to secure the 2 vols you speake of relateing to St Peter's, as you shall judge of them upon seeing them. But pray omitt not to make your best use of it allsoe in the getting the completest knowledge or copy you can of our friend Harry's Epistles,[1] at least as to those particular words wee have been at a losse about. And if there bee any print, (in sculpture I meane; for, I thanke you, I have that of the relation you sent mee therof through Dr Shadwell's hand, through which I allsoe now send all I write to you) relateing to any of the ceremonys of the præsent Jubilee, or any former ecclesiastick shows or views of St Peter's, or aught else that is curious, beyond what you know I am allready maister of, I leave it to you to buy for mee.

I am Mr Martin's humble servant, and can assure him of his friends' healths, as I doe you of yours; among whom Mrs Skinner in particuler, and Sir James Houblon (who has allready seene your letter), give you theyr kindest wishes and service. And soe God keep you. S. Pepys.

180 [MS. ii. 66]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[2]

*Thursday, February* 1, 1699–1700.

Nephew,—It has fallen-out most unfortunately twice together that your most desireable letters have come to mee soe late as to make mee despayre of saveing the posts, even to tell you of my receipt of them. For such was the case of that above,[3] being the duplicate of my last of the 29th January;

[1] "Our friend Harry" is Henry VIII; see p. 277 above.
[2] A duplicate copy of this letter is also given in the MS. (ii. 68).
[3] The duplicate, transcribed by Paul Lorrain (see note on p. 168 above), comes on the page immediately above the beginning of this letter.

as it now is of this, which (if it arrives) can serve only to tell you that I have this moment (Mr Hewer being with mee and partakeing in the satisfaction of them) received your 2 of the 1st and 9th of January from Rome. In præsent returne to which, I shall not dare to stay the saying more than what I would bee sorry not to say by this post, viz., that I doe fully approve of the method you seeme to have pitched upon for your next proceding; recommending it only to you to give mee early and strict directions, in all adventures and removeall, how I am to addresse my letters to you. This, and the telling you that wee are all well, is all I dare adventure to stay the saying now to you, but that I will take timely care that my next shall supply all. Adieu. Your affectionate Uncle, S. Pepys.

181 [MS. ii. 71]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[1]

*Monday, February* 5, 1699–1700.

Nephew,—2 or 3 things have concurred to the disturbing the cours of our letters, and particularly my lately receiveing together your 2 letters of the 1st and 9th of January, and both of them severall days after the arrivall of that of the 16th ditto that was of a date as many days later than they; soe as to make it seeme necessary that wee come to a præsent adjustment of our Kalendar too for our letters as the Church has done for her matters,[2] and begin a fresh reckoning (with her) from the same New Yeare's Day, when I make our accounts to have stood thus, viz. :—

1—That the last I had at that time received from you was that most wellcome one of Christmas Day from Rome; and the only one that I misse of yours that which you wrott mee from Turin.

2—That the last you had then received from mee was one

[1] A duplicate copy of this letter, in the hand of Mrs Skynner, is also given in the MS. (ii. 73). Lord Braybrooke (iv. 287) strings together into a single paragraph two sentences from quite different parts of this letter and prints them as an "extract."

[2] A reference to the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in 1582.

of the 2 directed to you to Venice; and the other of them the only one of mine that had then fayled in its comeing to you.

3—That (as to since New Year's Day) you have received of mine one of the 7th of December and have 6 to expect from mee since, namely, of 18th ditto, 8th, 11th, 22nd, and 29th of January, and 1st instant.

4—That as to yours to mee, I have since New Year's Day inclusive received 3, viz., of the 1st, 9th, and 16th ditto.

Which being (as I have sayd) the true state of our correspondencys at this day, you will doe well to joyne with mee in keeping from hence forward an account currant of all that shall succede hereto both on your part and mine, for præventing or readyier cleareing any future snarles that may happen in the same.

And this being præmised, and though I have allready in some of my last given you some (though very broken) accounts of my receipt of every of your 3 last letters, I shall now I hope have an opportunity (without the interruptions I have twice together mett with in my attempting it by the 2 last posts) of applying more sutable answers thereto.

And first for your *fœlix faustumque* to mee and your friends here; wee doe all returne it with very good will upon you, for what ever part it shall please God to graunt us of the time you have extended your good wishes to.

Wee are not surprized at what you note touching the shifts you have been putt to your first 10 days for lodging, it being noe more than wee all expected at such a concours of forreigners as Rome was at once to finde reception for. But you have I thinke done very well in wayteing a little to better your selfes therein, rather than to have made any temporary removealls thence, out of cours for your generall and more stated method of proceding. Which as you have opened it to mee, I doe fully concurr with you in, as well knowing how much a better judge you must bee of it upon the place than I here, and noe lesse relying upon your owne knowledge of the moment it is of to you on all scores to make the most and best of the opportunity now in your hand of doeing your selfe solid and lasting good; it being matter of melancholly to mee to

thinke of the little heed you tell mee is had by the generality of our English gentlemen thereto, and consequently noe lesse to my content to finde you and your fellow-traveller Mr Martin endeavouring to distinguish your selfes therefrom by your different applications: in which I pray God to præserve you both with health, and the concurrence of all other favourable circumstances of furtherance thereto.

In particular, it would never bee forgiven you, nor (I perswade my selfe) would you ever bee your own forgiver, should you, when leaveing Italy, leave its language behinde you. And as little to have omitted seeing any thing of antiquity, or even of moderne, whose notoriety should occasion its being enquired after of you when you are come thence. I know your curiosity to bee too great to suffer your falling under any such neglect; among which I cannot but reckon the Pope's Toe for one, Harry the 8th's love-letters for another, and the piece of ancient painting you see imitated by our Mr Cooke [1] in distemper, and of which Monsr. Goguin gave us a copy in *taille douce*,[2] for a third. Which last gives mee occasion of lamenting my never haveing given you opportunity of initiating your selfe in Drawing, before your setting out hence on a journy soe full of employment for it; and for musique too. Though as to the latter I am lesse concerned, as haveing never observed your gusto much tending that way.

As little fondnesse as I have for his Saintship, I cannot forgett his being an English man, and soe am very well pleased with the respect Thomas of Becket had payd to his memory by such an appearance of his countrymen, and solemnity of musique they were entertained with upon the Festivall of his Translation, and that your selfe had your share on't.

I shall see carefull payment made of the hundred dollars you have taken-up of Seignr. Rizzi.

You give mee but a very starved account of your Roman divertisements,—publique ones I meane. For I cannot doubt the place's affording variety enough to fill your whole time

[1] Henry Cook the painter (1642–1700) had studied art in Italy. William III employed him to repair Raphael's cartoons.

[2] See note on p. 35 above.

with those of more private value to an ingenious visitor; whereof you have named mee not a few.

Captain Hatton is much pleased with your mentions of him and concernment for his health. And soe is Sir James Houblon allsoe and his family, to which you cannot pay too much reguard (as I have allready elcewhere inculcated to you), and therefore pray finde time to refresh the marks thereof sometimes, and to Mr Hewer allsoe, by a line or 2; remembring that a line at your distance, and from places soe celebrated as Rome and others that you are visiting, has the welcome of 10 from nearer home voyd of any thing that is singular.

My Lord Clarendon takes well your mindefullnesse of his errand too; whereto I am to add from Captain Hatton the recommending it to you to gett your selfe well informed whether what wee call Roman lettice [1] here bee not the very same which at Rome they call *lactuca di Parigi* or Paris. And further that you will omitt noe opportunity of furnishing your selfe with any sorts of good mellon seeds, markeing the severall names and other distinctions you can learne of them in the papers you shall putt any small quantity of each in.

Whatever you intended, you make (at the head of your letter of that date) New Year's Day last the first of the 17th century; nor have I your Roman relation now by mee, to compare it with what is sayd there of it.

I leave it to you to judge of the Millan-post as, upon your receipt of the letter-account here given you, you shall see cause. But I doe not remember that my letters have heretofore used to come open, though it has been ever the practice abroad to dipp them in vinegar and purify them with brimstone where suspected to come from places infected with the plague.

You won't forgett with your thankes the kinde offices done you by the ladys of both monasterys and Sir Daniel Arthur [2] in theyr recomendatory letters from Paris, though they should not prove all alike usefull to you, with those to Father Mans-

[1] See p. 249 above.

[2] See note on p. 226 above.

field. And here it comes in my minde to note to you, if there were any occasion for it, that I am apt to believe Bishop Ellis [1] would recollect who I am, were my name mentioned to him, and probably bee inclined to shew you some effects of it in his respects to you; wee haveing heretofore (though now a great while since) mett where wee have been very friendly together treated at poore Mr Pierce's,[2] the King's Serjeant Surgeon, long since dead, and his family dispersed.

As to poor Monsr. de Galliniere, hee is well and family; but haveing lately received some grounds to apprehend that his Irish-call [3] will not in the end come up to that degree of satisfaction and support which it came accompanyed with, I shall respite the saying any thing more of it to you till wee heare further.

Pray give Mr Martin my services and wish [him] health.

Just here comes yours of the 23rd of January, to the putting mee to my witts' end to thinke that noe one of the letters within mentioned should have then reachd you, all goeing by the way of France; but I trust for better successe to them before this. I am greatly satisfyed with what you have done about my copy booke, and your other comissions. For the closenesse of your præsent applications to the studys you have sett your selfe, you may bee sure of my being fully pleased therewith, and wishing good speed to your plow. With which, and an earnest lookeing out for your next, that I may heare of your haveing some better account to give mee of mine, I shall not offer at adding any thing more than the presseing you to bee very foresighted in your directions for my letters findeing you, when ever you come to resolve upon any removealls. The ro[o]me here left admitting of noe compliments, Adieu.

S. P.

[1] See note on p. 231 above.

[2] Dr James Pearse, and his wife "la belle Pierce," are often referred to in the *Diary*. He became Chirurgeon-General of the Navy.

[3] See p. 228 above.

182 [MS. ii. 76]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Copy*].[1]

*Thursday, February* 8, 1699–1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—Though it be but 3 days since by mine of the 5 instant I thought it nesesary to give you a full state and ajustment of oure courant acount of letters bet[w]eene me and you to that day, yett I am soe affected with the disapointments your last to me of the 23 instant new stile must have left you under, from the soe long want of any from me since your reseipt of mine of the 7 of December, that as well for doeing right to my selfe as satisfaction to you, I cannot but repeete soe much of it heare as (in case of any misscarage to that) may sufise, that you have with this noe less than 8 to expect from me of later date than that of the 7 of Desember, viz., of Desember 18th, January 8th, 11, 22, and 29, and of Febury the 1st, 5, and this of the 8th, and that since that I had from you of Christmass day, I have actually reseved of yours 4, viz., of the 1st, 9, 16, and 23 of Januery; to the ocasioning me great regrett with my pleasur that I shoud reseve foure within as litle time as you have wanted 8; but my hope is the same with yours in your last, that the next post woud be the more frutfull to you. At least I trust in god that what ever thereoff miscarey (and why any shoud I know not, they all of them, as I take it, goeing by the way of Dr Shadwell), the last will be none of them, as car[y]ing in it neere as much mater as any four of the rest, by takeing in a great many ends that had escaped my working up.

To which I have now only to add that I thank you for the coppy booke you have secured me, and your mindfullness of the other.

As for prints, I wood be glad of a few, but those very good ones only, of any thing to publike prosesions, cavalcads, canonizations, or any other solemnitys extroardnery relateing to the Church, anticuteys, or town of Rome; I meane single prints, not books of setts, for of those you know I have good

[1] This copy is in Mrs Skynner's hand. Under the head of "Extracts," Lord Braybrooke (iv. 288) prints three isolated sentences from it as if they were continuous.

pleanty. Nor even of single prints woud I have any of greater size than will, when put into frames, be comodiesly hung within an ordnerey panell of our mod[e]rn wanscoting, such as those of Paris and London in my low study.

Captain Hatton (who was my gu[e]st to day, and your kind remembrancer) tells me of a printed booke of graveings don at rome about (as he thinks) 60 years agoe, finely don, of all the allfabetes of the severall languages in which there are any bookes extent in the Vatican Liberary; the same being taken from the paintings or drawings thereoñ inscribed upon the severall int[e]r coulums in the same liberary, of which booke (if to be had) it woud greatly sort with my Colection that I had a coppy of.

He puts me allsoe upon asking of you the like (if there be any such thing now as he says there heartofore has use to be at like junctures[1]) of a historicall list of the names, contreys, ages, characters,[2] and intrestes of all the present Cardenalls, in order to the imploying people's conjecturs touching the choisse to be made at the next *Sede vacante*.

I long to heare of Father Mansfield['s] 2 vollumes of St Peter's.

Wee woud not, I find, my Lady Salisburey shud have miscared with her fortune soe far from home; and yett wheather she will think her contrey worth returning to is doubted, under the infilesity oure inglish ladys are at this day very haprehensive of, from our parlement's avowed resoulusion to forbid the wareing of any more indian silkes and calicoes.

The Deane of York[3] cutt the designe of my cosen his son['s] further travell short of[f], and remanded him back to the Colege, to the poore young man's great disopointment, I feere, who woud I dare say have made the best usess of it. On which score I cannot my selfe but be sorey for it.

I have nothing to add but my satisfaction in the hopes you give me of your due improvement of yours; t'wards which wishing you all good success in your soe searious and close aplicasiones thereto, I committ you to god, and rest, Your affecnate Uncle,

S. P.

[1] MS. "jountures." [2] MS. "carcteurs." [3] See note on p. 142 above.

I tak notis and am well pleased with Paris' remembrance of me, as I hope you are with his servis to you, his wife and daughter of a month olde being well.

183 [MS. ii. 79]. Dr Shadwell[1] to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Paris, Monday February* [12, 1699–1700] / 22, 1700

Dear Sir,—I have recievd yours of January the 26, and that of Candlemasday, which last came to my hands three houres after the English post was gone, which was unlucky. I sent you one last Monday which I would not give you the trouble of enclosing, but I cant let these two go without telling you that I heartily wish the Holy Week over, that we might see you here, for I hope you will not give us the go-by. Ime sorry to heare our English gentlemen have been so unlucky; as for Major Joslin, he hopes to have the fruits of the proverb, and be made amends in a rich wife. I have abundance of service to you from the Raquette and St Thomas, where you have your interest so establishd that 'tis no small omission can do you an injury. The thumb I write with is so sore that I must conclude, and I wish you can reade the scrole[2] of, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. Shadwell.

184 [MS. ii. 80]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Naples,* [*February* 21, 1699–1700, *O.S.*[3]] / *March* 3, 1700, *N.S.*

Honoured Sir,—Having, since my last of the 24th ult., made my visit to the numerous remains of Roman magnificence at Pozzuolo, Mycene, Baia, and Cumæ, etc., and

[1] See note on p. 179 above.
[2] "Scroll" was used of any piece of writing, and often of a letter.
[3] On and after March 1, 1700, N.S., the difference between the Old and New Styles was 11 days instead of 10.

abundantly satisfied my curiosity in whatever this place and its environs afford of note, myselfe with some more English gentlemen had determined on yesterday for our departing hence by felucca for Rome; but an unsuspected change of weather, from extream fair to excessive rainy, has putt us by for the present, and may possibly detain us a day or 2 longer, but I hope not more. In the mean time, my fellow-traveller Mr Martin, being less fond of the sea, and resolved to spend the interval 'tween this and the Holy Week in an express journey to Florence, goes back to morrow the same way he came. I lately mentioned my having thoughts of the same excursion myselfe; but finding upon further consideration that this will allow me no more time at Rome, which deserves a twelvemonth, and that I can with more convenience, less charge and time, and yet taking-in a greater compass both of land and sea, make Florence in my way back, when I goe to Leghorn to embark for the French and Spanish coasts, I have wholly quitted that first project, and now finally resolved on this latter.

Though I can hardly forbear fancying myselfe to be now loitering here, yet in effect I find it to be time not wholly mispent; it shewing me a difference between this town in and out of Carnaval-time which I should not otherwise have had any adæquate notion of. Whatever other opportunitys this extraordinary stay may afford me for improvement I shall not be wanting in my endeavours to make the best use I can of; and begging leave to referr you to my next from Rome, remain, with humble duty to yourselfe and best respects and services to all my honoured friends, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew,

J. Jackson.

9 *at night.*

For conveniency of horses per *cambiatura* (they being all bespoke for to morrow), Mr Martin is called-upon to sett-out just now; and begins to speak doubtfully of his journey to Florence. So that I hope wee shall still agree in the course of our travels.

185 [MS. ii. 77]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson. [*Copy*].[1]

*London, Thursday February* 22, 1699–1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—My last was of the 8th instant, in which having made it my business, as in a former or two, chiefly to clear the state of our letters to that day, nothing has since happened of moment, more than my receipt of 2 of yours since that time, viz., one of the 26 January, and the other of Candlemas-day; by which the latest you had then received of mine appears to be that of the 18 December. But I hope the many of later dates mentioned in my last of the 8th instant will in due time come to you.

In the mean time let me only tell you that I take great satisfaction in the application you seem to use to the mastering of the language and visiting of antiquitys, as far as you can do it before your leaving Rome for Naples, towards which place I presume you are by this time well set-out, —wishing you your full content there, and in the whole rest of your route as you have markt it out to Mr Houblon in your Candlemas-day-letter whereto you refer me, and for which I thank you as had it been double to myself.

I shall take care to honour your bill for the second summe you have taken-up of Signor Rizzi, being very well assured of your deliberate thrift in the use of it, in contempt of the every way less honourable methods of our Basset-dealers.[2]

Haveing gone thus farr in ease of my eyes, I shall close it with my owne hand,[3] only to recommend to you the getting mee the few things I have mentioned in any of my former, and in your visiting of churches to try whether you can recollect enough of my perspective in my dining parlour to finde what particular churches it is made up of; the paynter I bought it of (together with that of St Peter's) telling mee that it was a capricio of his owne, made up out of 2 or 3 different churches. I should bee glad to know what; if in your visitts they should occurr to you. I have noe more, but with the

[1] A duplicate copy of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 78).
[2] See note on p. 274 above.
[3] The rest of the letter is in Pepys's own hand.

kinde respects of all your friends, and my owne best wishes to you, rest, Your most affectionate Uncle, S. Pepys.

186 [MS. ii. 84]. Signor Antonio Pescicelli to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

Letter in Italian, dated [February 26, 1699–1700, O.S.] / March 8, 1700, N.S.

relating to his accounts

187 [MS. ii. 85]. Mr John Jackson to Signor Antonio Pescicelli [*Holograph*].

Mr Jackson's answer in Italian, dated

February 27, 1699–1700, O.S.] / March 9, 1700, N.S.

188 [MS. ii. 86]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Naples*, [*February* 27, 1699–1700] / *March* 9, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—I have the misfortune to be still where my last left me; so unpropitious the heavens will ever remain to my sea-expeditions. All things are ready; my agreement is made for a feleuca to carry me to Procita,[1] Nisita,[2] Ischia, Terracina, Gaieta,[3] Nettuno, Ostia,[4] and any other places I would see 'tween this and the Ripa grande at Rome. It waits only my orders, and I nothing but permission from the weather, to sett sail immediately and away; which I am encouraged by our weather-wise seamen to depend upon after to morrow. So long a continuance of dark and rainy weather, with so few lucid intervals, I hardly ever saw in England, and least of all expected it here after so very bright and warm

[1] Procida. [2] Nisida. [3] Gaeta.
[4] These are all points that might be visited when returning by sea from Naples to Rome.

a sun as wee had had for several days before, producing us sparagrass, green pees, and melons, at no unreasonable rates. My comfort is that it cannot always last, and that whilst it do's, 'tis almost indifferent where I am; it being as unfitt to travell by land in, as by sea; and as good to keep within doors here as at Rome. I might say better; being gott into a lodging by myselfe, where I can pursue my thoughts from morning till night without the least interruption, which is a pleasure I had almost lost the memory of, and which I can no longer reckon-upon from the moment I joyn my other companions. What makes me most impatient is, my apprehensions of your suspecting me to be loitering in the mean time, and the want of your letters, which I hope to meet with at my return to Rome.

Having so often mentioned my resolution of leaving Rome immediately after the Holy Week, and the time your letters have been in coming to Rome, I shall not presume to prescribe any other measures to you for the adjusting the direction of your comands so as to meet me at Venice, which is my next step; the design mentioned in my last being to goe by Loretto and the direct road to Venice; and as soon as the ceremony of the Ascension is over, to steer my course along the upper side of the Po to Milan, and thence along the lower to Bologna; and so by Florence and Luca to Leghorne, which will be the last place after Venice where I can with any certainty expect letters from you in these parts; and I presume Cadix must be the next.

I hope Mrs Skynner, Sir J. Houblon's family, Mr Hewer's, Mr Hatton, Dr Smith, Major Aungier, and all my friends are well. I begg your giving my humble service to them, and leave to remain, with profoundest respect and prayers for your own health and prosperity, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

189 [MS. ii. 87]. Mr John Jackson's Agreement with his Felucca Men.

[Written in Italian, and signed by John Jackson and four of the men. It is referred to in his letter to his uncle of [February 27, 1699–1700] / March 9, 1700, printed on p. 292 above.]

190 [MS. ii. 81]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Copy*].

*London, Monday March* 4, 1699–1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—The last I have had from you was that of Candlemas-day, which I have answered (with others) by my last of the 22nd of February; to which I have nothing new to add but the desiring you to give Mr Martin my services and most thankful acknowledgments for his of the 23rd of January. I doubt I have omitted thanking you for my two supplys of Roman lettice-seeds, at least for the latter, which I have yet wanted an opportunity of putting into the hand they are designed for.[1] But I expect soon to have it. Nor (if I had it) should I be over-forward to say more now, as not knowing where it is like to find you, though I presume at Naples. But according to agreement, I send it to receive its address at Paris from Dr Shadwell, who probably will be before me in his knowing how to direct it. One thing only is in my mind to give you in fresh charge whenever you shall come to take your final leave of Rome; namely, to consider whether it be practicable and worth while to make provision for a future correspondence there; that in case of any new books, sculpts, or upon notice of any extraordinary occurrences there, among either the ecclesiasticks or *literati*, one might have it within his knowledge how to come the nearest way at it. Myself, friends, and neighbours are (I bless God) all in present health, and that more particularly for myself in regard of an illness I have been very lately under, but by His grace entirely delivered from. With which I recommend you to Him for the continuance of your own, and rest, Your most affectionate Unkle, S. P.

[1] Lord Clarendon's; see p. 249 above.

191 [MS. ii. 91]. Dr Shadwell[1] to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[2]

*Paris, March* [4, 1699–1700] / 15, [1700].

Dear Sir,—I find I'me not so obligd to Naples as I was to Rome, for since your moving thither I have not heard one word of you, and I think it, I assure you, an age. I hope at least you have taken the other post for England, for Mr Pepys will be impatient, and though I suffer I would have him at ease. Youle find by the date that the enclosd has been long on its journey, which was occasiond by its coming a little too late for the post here, that goes from hence but once a week.

I long to heare when I am to expect you, that I may once more be your harbinger, though Ile endeavour to lodge you, [if] not in the house at least with a friend of yours who I lately heare will see France very suddenly. Since I have namd one of your friends 'tis impossible for you to guess; therefore I'le venture to discover it to you and tell you 'tis an enemy, of which you have so very few that I need not tell you her name. I can't imagine what wind drives her this way; I believe 'tis to meet you, at least though she wishd you an ill one (which blew me a great deale of good) I'me sure youle not be even with her.

Without a compliment, I'me sure youle pardon the hast I allways write in, being turnd a perfect secretary, but I can assure you as I heare from none so I write to none with more pleasure than to your self. I am, Dear Sir,

John Shadwell.

I have yet no other direction to you.

The enclosd is for a lady with my Lady Salisbury,[3] which if you are at Rome I beg you will deliver; if not, do me the favour to send it.

[1] See note on p. 179 above.

[2] The endorsement shews that with this was enclosed Mr Pepys's letter of February 22 (p. 291 above).

[3] See note on p. 257 above.

192 [MS. ii. 83]. Mr James Houblon to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*March* 5, 1699–1700.

*Tuesday, 7 a clock.*

Sir,—I most heartily congratulate your recovery, and return my humble thanks for the early fruits of it, the honour of your letter that brings me the agreable intelligence, as also for the sight of your nephew Mr Jackson's very entertaining account from Naples, which I tooke the liberty to read to my sisters, who were present when I received yours. They desire me to assure you they much rejoice at the restoration of your health, and esteem themselves much bound to you for your very obliging message to them.

My father is from home. I shall not fail to communicate to him, so soon as he returns, what you are pleased to mention of the affair of 1588.

Sir, my father has notice of no other summes than 200 dollers paid Mr Jackson at Rome, for which, and the charges, our friend of Legorne has drawn a bill on my father for 204 dollers at $55\frac{3}{4}d.$ per doller, payable the 9th of May next.

I am unwilling to detain your servant too long, which I beg may excuse my abrupt answer to your favour, as I intreat my ten days lameness may that I have not been to wayte on you, for I am, with utmost respect and affection, Sir, Your very obedient humble servant, James Houblon, Jr.

193 [MS. ii. 92]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, March* $\frac{[9, 1699–1700]}{20, 1700.}$

*Saturday Evening.*

Honoured Sir,—As at Genoua so at Naples, after having staid as long as with any convenience I possibly could for a passage by sea, I was at last forced to return hither by land; the weather being at best so very uncertain (as it

always is in this month), that not only the felucca-men were unwilling to stirr, but the Consul and my friends the merchants declared themselves absolutely against the undertaking. So on Monday-evening, in company with some other English gentlemen, I took Voiture, and arrived here about 10 last night, having made my disappointment somewhat the lesse by taking boat at Mola,[1] and spending halfe a day in seeing the Port of Gaieta, one of the most considerable of that coast; and comforting myselfe further with the consideration that great part of the road lay within sight of the sea, and for some miles often close upon it. So that what with the view I had of the coast from Pozzuolo, Baia,[2] Mysene,[3] and Cume,[4] and what from the road, and what I further propose to give myselfe by an express journey down the Tyber and to Civita Vecchia, I shall not, I hope, come away wholly a stranger to what I know you to be principally desirous of my making myselfe acquainted with. The rest Paris will help to supply, whom at his own desire, and to try what fortune I should have had myselfe, I left at Naples to return the same way he went, and with a prospect of setting-out in a common felucca with some other English servants the next morning; but he is not yet arrived, though the weather has since been tolerably good.

At my return this morning to my old lodgings, I mett with the pleasure I expected of all your letters to February 5th,—viz., of January 8th, 11th, 22nd, and 29th, and February 1st and 5th, and have just now received another of the 8th ditto, —which I find to be all the post owed me from you, and for which I know not how to return you thanks sufficient. I should have been very glad to have had time to answer them particularly by this night's post; but they being so many, so full of contents requiring my attention, and I but just come-off of a tiresome journey, I presume upon your forgiving me if I referr you for more to the French post on Tuesday next, which perhaps may arrive as soon as this; I taking it at least to be much more certain, those of the 1st, 9th, and 16th January, which came to your hands so much out of order,

[1] Mola di Gaeta, or Formia.
[2] Baiae.
[3] Miseno.
[4] Cumae.

having all been sent by this same Milan-post. I am also not a little glad to find that mine from Turin is the only one that has yet miscarried to you-ward. The rest, to January 23rd inclus[ive], you have received. Since which there have gone 7 more from me; viz., of January 26th, and Candlemas-day (enclosed one for Mr J. Houblon) from Rome; and February 16th and 24th and March 3rd and 9th from Naples; and lastly, this which waits upon you at present; reducing the state of our correspondence into a very narrow and comfortable view. I trust in God the same success will always attend it. In order whereto, in my 2 last from Naples I gave you particular measures for your following me with your commands to Venice and Leghorn. To the former wee intend to sett-out from hence about the middle of Easter-Week, and to be ready to depart thence immediately after the Ascension; and to be at the latter (Leghorn) in a month, at furthest, after.

I am extreamly joyed with the good tidings of all my friends being well, and particularly Captain Hatton and Sir J. Houblon firm again. I begg my most humble services to them; and with the like to Mrs Skynner, Mr Hewer, and the rest of my honoured friends at Clapham, Mr Evelin, Dr Smith, Mr Mussard, etc., Mr Tollet, etc., remain, praying for the continuance of your own health and favourable acceptance of the tenders of my humble duty, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

194 [MS. i. 129]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Copy*].

*London, Monday March* 11, [1699–1700] *O.S.*

Nephew,—My last to you was of the 4th instant, and of yours to me from Naples of the 16th of February, wherein I take notice of your difficultys in getting thither, and your being driven thereby to part company, but well joyned againe there. I should be very glad for the considerations you give me that you might have your satisfaction in returning to Rome by sea; but am surprised, no less than you, at your disappointment in what I thought most to be depended on

in all your travells, touching the beauty of that city and extraordinariness of its Carnaval-entertainments. The musick however holds good there, and you have done very well in remembring Mr Houblon for a copy of that of the Opera. This will (I hope) meet you well returned to Rome; where, since I have named musick, I hope you won't omit to hear the performance thereof at the Pope's Chappel, much celebrated for the voices unassisted by instruments. Nor will you (I presume) omit it, as one great curiosity, to get a sight of the person of his Holiness, if not to kiss his Toe, which our prints tell us a great many have done. Remember too the sight and attentive perusal (if a copy cannot be had) of K[ing] H[enry] 8's letters, in order to your better judging of what I already have; and of what I have somewhere mentioned to you from Captain Hatton, of a printed or rather graven copy-book of all the several characters in the manuscripts of different languages and ages extant in the Vatican-Library. Whereto I shall repeat what I suggested to you in my last, of considring the use and practicableness of provideing a correspondent there at your leaving Rome, for the sake of any books, etc., we may at any time have occasion of wishing for from thence. Your friends and neighbours do all most kindly salute you, and are in good health, but Mr Mussart's only son, now sick of the spotted fever. With which I commit you to God's protection, Your affectionate Unkle, S. P.

Poor Mr Simmons the Minister of Clapham is dead.

195 [MS. ii. 93]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, March* $\frac{\text{[12, 1699–1700, } O.S.}{\text{23, 1700, } N.S.}$

*Tuesday Evening.*

Honoured Sir,—This comes to discharge the debt I on Saturday last begged your patience with me for till this evening. All I had then opportunity to say, or at least shall

here need, for prevention, to repeat, being that I arrived late the night before from Naples, and had had the satisfaction of meeting all your letters here to February 8th inclusive, with notice therein of mine having all (except that from Turin) had the like good fortune in coming safe to your hands as far as the 23rd of January inclusive. Since which you may please to expect (if not arrived, as they ought, before this) 2 more from me, of the 26th January and 2nd February, from hence before my setting-out for Naples; 4 from Naples, viz., February 16 and 24, and March 3rd and 9th; and these 2 last of the 20th ditto and to day, since my return. Which being the present state of our correspondence, I hope no further misadventures will arrive to embroil it. There is only one thing more requiring my taking the liberty of refreshing you in, which is, the recommendatory letters from the Bishop of London and Colonel Sackville you putt me in expectation of by yours of the 23rd October to Paris, in these words:— "I have a letter or 2 for you, one from my Lord of London and the other from Colonel Sackville, to persons who, though of no great quality, may be of use to you there, and there you shall find them,"—but without naming where, or ever saying more of them. Which, and my having indeed no great occasion for them, had almost suffered me wholly to forget them. Permitt me to ask whether they may not be still lying by you? for I know not when they could have miscarried, unless in that only one I want of yours, to Venice. Not that I can expect any benefit from them now, my stay here being too far spent even to admitt of my recieving them; but I should hope for your accepting this in part for my excuse, both to yourselfe and my patrons, for omitting so long my thanks and acknowledgments for the favour and effects of them. Which is what I suppose you call upon me for in your last, and with a great deal of reason; the favours intended me by these honourable persons being nothing the less for my having had the misfortune to be deprived of the benefit of them. I therefore begg you, Sir, to supply my defect herein to my Tutor and the honourable Colonel, whose son did me the honour to salute me last night with the offers of

his assistance to me; and I know no one capable of giving me greater. I perceive he reckoned upon my having had a letter from the Colonel his father, and I mightily regrett my ill hap in losing it. Please to favour me in paying my humble thanks and services to the Colonel and my Tutor, and, as you judge proper, my humble duty to my Lord of London. For Bishop Ellis,[1] your name was used to him in my recommendations, with success enough to give me the advantage of his patronage in case of need; but I find too much ceremony necessary to expect any familiar friendships from him. Besides, wee have news of his brother's being lately dead at Venice: a very ingenious gentleman, and governor to one Mr Backwell, with whom he went from hence not above 6 weeks agoe. This may render company less gratefull to the Bishop during my short abode here.

I am very happy in the good opinion you are pleased to entertain of what I have done and am doing here; and from the same causes hope always to secure myselfe of the same effects. Nor will my having received yesterday of Signor Rizzi 150 dollars occasion, I trust, your suspecting me of worse management in the matter of my expences than my time; no small part of it being already condemned for the purchases made for me by Father Mansfield. He is already in possession of a good share of Captain Hatton's books, and severall for yourselfe; among which the noble volumes of the History of the Vatican,[2] giving not only a minute account of every part of its present fabrick, but also *taille-douces* of the various designs of all the great Masters whilst in projection. I am in no doubt of your being greatly pleased with it. I shall also apply my selfe with the first opportunity to the execution of your last orders relating to prints, the book of Vatican gravings, and present state of the Cardinals, etc. Without your limitation, I fear I should have been tempted to charge you with more prints than might have been welcome to you, though good, being wholly engrossed by one man and

[1] See note on p. 231 above.

[2] Probably the *Templi Vaticani Historia*, published at Rome in 1696 by Philip Bonannus, a learned Jesuit.

consequently not cheap. The large one of St Peter's (formerly shewed you by a painter [1]) after a great deal of enquiry I can hear nothing of; but falling under your objection as to size, I shall bee noe longer in care about it. Small canonizations there are severall, which I shall buy. I have not yet mett with your copy-book, but have brought 2 others from Naples. More or less of the lettice-seed [2] I presume you have received, according to your direction, in the place of sand-dust; I may continue the same method, but I'm afraid to no great purpose. I will look-out for an opportunity of sending a better stock, both of that and melon-seed, to Paris, in company with some lute-strings to Dr Shadwell and the Raquette.[3] From thence the conveyance will be easy enough. Harry the 8th's letters [4] I had already perused, and concerted a day with another gentleman for going to transcribe them; which your commands will hasten the execution of, as also of another project I had (if fesible) of carrying a print of the old Roman marriage and staining it by the original, which, though very much faded, is capable enough of it. But instead of this sorry piece of daubing (should I do it), what might not I bring you, knew I how to draw? It very often sorely afflicts me that I do not.

I am much surprised at Mr Gale's sudden call home;[5] but yet more at Dr Bentley's promotion to the Mastershipp of Trinity.[6] I won't ask how particulars, but how the whole University of Oxford can bear it? 'Tis well for Christ Church that their Dean has borne-up, or possibly the same interest would have brought our heroe in to scourge them there. But you have not told me, Sir, how the Mastershipp became vacant.

My final resolution, brought you in my 3 last, of returning with greatest convenience to Leghorn will repair my defective visit to that port, and possibly afford me a 2nd view of that of Genoa in my way to Toulon and Marseilles; though I think myselfe not much in need of it. There remains then

[1] See p. 291 above.
[2] See p. 249 above.
[3] See p. 279 above.
[4] See p. 277 above.
[5] See p. 288 above.
[6] See p. 270 above. Charles Boyle's attack upon Bentley originated in Christ Church, and Dr Henry Aldrich, the Dean, was Boyle's patron.

only on this side, my journey I mentioned in my last to Ostia and Civita Vecchia, and to Nettuno (*alias* Antio), which by the account Paris brings me of it, must by no means bee omitted by me, nor by the grace of God shall. Hee arrived yesterday from Naples by sea, and was not a little delighted with the tidings of his having a daughter, beggs your acceptance of his humble duty, and (with your leave) blesses her.

If I gave you but a starved account of our publick diversions here, 'twas because there was then really a dearth of them, as I wrott Mr James Houblon at my going to Naples. But I find the case much altered at my return. The whole town is now nothing else. The concourse of strangers is most prodigious; and among others of considerable quality, wee have the 2 young Princes of Poland. There is musick at Cardinal Ottoboni's, Cardinal Sacrapanti's, Don Livio's, or some Church or Fraternity, almost every night of the week, at vast expence, and the best worth it, as our judges say, of any that ever was heard in Italy, or perhaps will be again till the next 100th year. I never more wisht Mr Houblon and yourselfe here than at present; as little tast as you percieve me to have for musick, I fear I shall languish after the Opera of Naples, and the various sorts of it here, as long as I live. The Curso of coaches is also suitable, and so are the ceremonys of the Holy Week expected to be; at which 'tis said the Pope is likely to be in a condition to assist, and give us at least a sight of the Triple Crown and opportunity of kissing his Toe; whatever he may doe afterwards as to a *Sede vacante*. And by that time Lady Salisbury may begin to peep-out, for at present shee keeps in the dark; Dr Shadwell enclosing me a letter to her from Lady Manchester,[1] gave mee an occasion of waiting on her Ladyship on Sunday last, but the light was so shutt-out I could hardly see her; only by accident had one glimpse of her nose, which I perceive has suffered. Shee lamented mightily her malitious distemper seizing her at so extraordinary a juncture, and feared she should be driven to quit Rome before she had had any pleasure or satisfaction in it; she designing for the Ascension

[1] See note on p. 275 above.

at Venice. Under this melancoly, I thought it pity to oppress her with the more afflicting tidings of the prohibition of Indian silks,[1] etc. ; I lament this part for her, and for all the English ladys, and hope it will suceed no better than the same unchristian undertaking heretofore has done.

For the rest : I thank God I have now pretty well mastered the language ; I can read it almost as well as French ; I understand it tolerably well when spoken ; and can without much difficulty make myselfe understood conversing with Signor Valletta, the renowned philosopher of Naples, and Monsignor Bellisono, the ingenious conversationist here, with so good success that the former has not only promised to give me copys of some of his curious MSS. discourses, but is following of us with all speed hither ; and the latter in good earnest desirous to goe with us into England, were it fitt for us to encourage him to it, with respect to the inconveniences [that] may attend it, he being neither very young, nor accustomed to travel, nor too, too well provided in the world for it.

I have not only a stock of Holy-Door mortar, but Agnus Dei's, pieces of the Rock of Gaieta that cleft at our Saviour's Crucifixion, etc., enough to enable me to sett-up for the curing of all distempers at my return to England.

'Twas the 18th century I meant,[2] whatever I might write ; and the printed Jubilee-paper justifys me in it, more than my own opinion.

All your letters hither have come safe and sealed ; which makes me think that from Venice was opened by mistake rather than design, or from any apprehension of the plague.

I fully purposed to have wrott to Mr James Houblon by this post, and given him some account how matters now stand at Naples, but the unavoidable length of this have left me neither time nor paper for it. On which considerations I hope he will excuse me, and accept my telling both him and you in general only that though, from severall singularitys in the place, I do not at all repent me of having staid so long [here], I fear severall of our English gentlemen repent them of having staid a much less time there ; it appearing to me, for all sorts

[1] See p. 288 above. [2] See p. 285 above.

of wickednesse, but principally that of women, the most abandoned place I ever sett foot in; and as it well deserves it, so 'tis more than probable that between Mount Vesuvius and the Solfatara of Pozzuolo[1] 'twill one day or other be consumed.

My friends do me great honour in their remembrances of me, and I most thankfully acknowledge it: particularly to Captain Hatton, Sir James Houblon's family, Mr Hewer's and Mr Martin's, Mr Evelin, Dr Smith, etc., to whom please to tender my humble services; as also to Mrs Skynner and my neighbours. I should be sorry to forget also my respect to Mr Hunter and Mr Atkins, Major Aungier, etc.; and if I have been remiss towards them, it has been most unwillingly. My best wishes and services also to Mr and Mrs Dugallinieres, if you please, when you write; and may your next bring me some good news of their settlement.

I have only to conclude with my prayers for your own health and prosperity, and begging your blessing, remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew,

J. Jackson.

The inclosed is a word to Mr Hewer. Mr Ratcliffe (Lord Derwentwater's brother[2]) has been robbed of all that ever he had here by an Irish servant, to the value of 300 pistols.

196 [MS. ii. 96]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, Saturday March* [16, 1699–1700] 27, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—The smallness of this is in consequence of the unmercifull size of my last, 3 days since, by the French

[1] The Solfatara of Pozzuoli, near Naples, was not at this time an active volcano, but there had been an eruption in 1198.

[2] Probably Charles Radcliffe, the brother of James Radcliffe, the third Earl of Derwentwater. They both took part in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, and the latter was beheaded; the former escaped from Newgate and took refuge abroad. On the death of his nephew in 1731 he became titular Earl of Derwentwater, and, being captured at sea in 1745, he was executed under the original sentence in the following year.

post, which has left nothing behind but my concern for your receiving it. In order whereto, I thought this notice possibly might not bee unusefull. Our musick goes-on daily improving; wee grow bigger and bigger with the expectation of the approaching ceremonys of the Holy Week; and great numbers of strangers are still flocking hither to partake of them. My Lords Plimouth and Mounthermer [1] are the only persons that (to all our astonishment) are running away from them; intending to sett-out to morrow or next day homewards. Though I have not had the happiness of any thing from yourselfe by this day's post, I hear from others of great doings in the H[ouse] of Commons,[2] and in particular with regard to [the] Lord Chancellor and Mr Montague, and the East India Companies. May all end well. Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

197 [MS. ii. 95]. Mr Paul Lorrain to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*De Londres, ce 25 Mars*, 1700, *S. loci.*

For God's sake, let not any body with you, much less any one here, know that I have now written to you; for I find it is not your Unkle's desire; but it is mine, to perform my promise to you. For which pray let me not suffer.

Monsieur,—C'est pour obeïr à vos commandements que je vous apprens aujourd'huy, avec regret, la maladie de Mr vostre Oncle. Il y a quelques semaines qu'il se fit une ouverture à l'orifice de sa vessie; mais le Docteur Ratel[iffe] [3] et Mr Bernard, chirurgien,[4] le restablirent bientost et sans qu'il souffrît beaucoup de peine, étant tout ce temps là fort gaillard, et exempt de fievre et d'autres incommoditez. Mais depuis cela, cette ouverture (qui estoit parfaitement refermée)

[1] See note on p. 257 above.

[2] A formidable agitation was being carried on in the House of Commons against Lord Chancellor Somers and Charles Montagu the financier, afterwards Earl of Halifax. The conflict of claims between the Old and New East India Companies were also under discussion.

[3] See note on p. 208 above.

[4] Dr Charles Bernard, afterwards Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Anne and Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

s'est renouvellée par l'acrimonie des humeurs, et l'a obligé de reprendre le lit qu'il a gardé, pour cette derniere fois, presque 3 semaines; mais sans fievre, et sans aucune apparence de danger, jusqu'à hier au soir que la fievre le prit; et qui, se joignant à une grande toux[1] qui l'avoit desja saisi quelques jours auparavant, l'empesche extremement de reposer, et nous fait apprehender que les suites n'en soient fascheuses. Madame Skynner et tous ceux qui sont autour de Mr vostre Oncle en prennent bien du soin. Pour moy, ce que je puis faire pour son soulagement, c'est de prier Dieu qu'il luy plaise de le restablir en parfaite santé. Je sçais que vous joindrez vos prieres aux miennes. Si vous avez quelque-chose à me commander, vos ordres me trouveront ou chez vostre Oncle, ou à mon logis chez Mr Cawdron, over against Leg-Ally in Long-acre. Cependant je vous prie de ne faire sçavoir à personne que je vous ay donné avis de l'indisposition et du danger où Mr vostre Oncle est à present. J'espere que vous vous portez toûjours bien, et je prie Dieu, qui vous a conservé jusqu'icy, de vous continuer en sa garde, et de vous ramener en ces quartiers à bon port, lorsque vous jugerez à propos de revoir le païs[2] de vostre naissance. Ma femme vous assure de ses services, et moy je suis parfaitement, Monsieur, Vostre tres-humble et tres-obeissant serviteur,

PAUL LORRAIN.

J'ay fait réponse à la lettre que vous m'écrivetes de Genoua, et je me promettois d'avoir l'honneur d'en recevoir une autre de cette fameuse cité, où [MS. *cut away*] encore trouver.

Avant que cette [lettre est] achevée, j'ay appris que Mr vostre Oncle se trouve beaucoup mieux, et [que le] Docteur Ratcliffe luy promet la rétablissement de sa santé dans peu de jours. Si les chose vont autrement, vous aurez encore de mes nouvelles. Mais si je ne vous escris point, prenez cela pour une marque tout va bien.

Which God grant.

Monsieur n'a pas encore fait réponse à vostre dernière. Il attend pour cela qu'il soit un peu mieux.

[1] Cough. [2] Pays.

198 [MS. ii. 120]. Catalogue of Books desired by Captain Hatton.

[Here is omitted a list in John Jackson's hand of Italian books to be purchased for Captain Hatton, with additions and notes of prices by one Tomaso Andreoli, Libraro; also notes of payments to Father Mansfeild dated April 5 and 6, 1700, N.S.,—*i.e.* March 25 and 26, O.S. Some of the titles on the list are crossed out, as if these books had been secured.]

199 [MS. ii. 97]. Monsieur Dégalénière to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].[1]

*à Dublin, ce* 30 *Mars*, 1700.

Monsieur,—Dans un pays étranger et éloigné de ma famille,[2] je puis cependant dire que ce qui m'occupe et m'afflige le plus c'est vôtre personne et vôtre état. La poste ne vient pas assez vite pour satisfaire à mon impatience, et quand j'ouvre mes lettres et que j'y vois que vous étes toûjours malade, je ne sçay ce que je deviens. La tristesse s'empare de mòy d'une maniere que je ne puis exprimer. Je regrette Londre, je pense que quoy que je ne puisse pas vous apporter de soulagement, à tout le moins, si j'y etois, j'irois plusieurs fois le jour demander de vos nouvelles, et il me semble que la proximité des lieux feroit que je ne serois pas si allarmé. Ma femme m'écrit que vous avez été obligé de vous remettre au lit. Je vous puis protester, Monsieur, que je prie Dieu continuellement pour vous, et avec la même ardeur que je prierois pour moy-même. Il suffit de vous connoitre pour s'interresser dans vôtre conservation. Mais ce n'est pas seulement par la plus profonde estime qu'on puisse avoir, c'est aussi par la plus sensible de toutes les reconnoissances, que je ne distingue point vos maux d'avec ceux que je pourrois souffrir moy-même. Au nom de Dieu, Monsieur, ménagez vous bien, ménagez vous mieux que vous n'avez fait par le passé; et en évitant à l'avenir la trop grande

[1] Endorsed, "A letter of extraordinary respect, and concernment for illnesse, etc."

[2] See p. 228 above.

application qui sans doute a causé vôtre mal. Pensez que quoy que dite vôtre devise, *Mens cuiusque is est quisque*, quelque esprit que vous ayez, vous n'étes pourtant pas tout esprit, et que vous avez un corps dont vous devez avoir un tres-grand soin. Dieu veüille vous rétablir, Dieu veüille benir les remedes qu'on vous prescript, Dieu veüille faire reussir les operations que l'on vous fait. Je suis persuadé que Madame Skynner est penetrée de douleur de vous voir souffrir, et qu'elle ne trouve de consolation que dans les soins qu'elle prend de vous. Permettez, Monsieur, que je luy en fasse icy mes complimens, et que je vous assure que je suis, avec le plus profond respect du monde, Monsieur, Vôtre tres-humble et tres-obeissant serviteur, P. P. Dégalénière.

Je fais toûjours bien des voeux pour Monsieur vôtre nepheu.

200 [MS. ii. 101]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome*, $\frac{[March\ 30]}{April\ 10}$, 1700.

*Saturday Evening.*

Honoured Sir,—I have this day received the honour of yours of the 22nd February and 4th March O.S., being all I find due to me to that time, as those of the 26th January and Candlemas-day, which you have been pleased to advise me of your having received, were from me to you to my going to Naples; our correspondence continuing so far at least uninterrupted since its last settlement. I doubt not of the same good fortune to all the rest; whereof this is the 9th from me, according to the dates I have severall times repeated to you.

I am very sorry for the late interruption in your health, and bless God for its so happy re-establishment; hoping to heare more of its confirmation by your next, and continuance thereof to all my friends.

You may please to depend on my doing my best endeavours to perform all I have in command from you, etc., before my quitting Rome. I have always had your piece of perspective in my mind from the moment I arrived here, and perhaps visited some churches the more, purely with an eye to it, but have not yet mett with any thing resembling its entrance; the rest I think has nothing singular in it. The correspondences you propose are also establisht: at Naples in a most particular manner with Signor Valletta and doubly here with Father Mansfield and Monsignor Bellisono; though for sculps (the chief vertuoso-commodity here) I have been and shall, I know, be tempted beyond my strength to make such a provision as will scarce leave you any desideratum after their arrivall; having taken the liberty to transgress your orders herein with this view, that at least you might have the pleasure of seeing them; that if you thought fitt you might have it in your power to keep them; or, if not, without loss at any time disburthen yourselfe of them. In the mean time, however, I humbly begg your pardon and allowance of my having taken-up (yesterday) 150 dollars more of Signor Rizzi, which makes just 500: the halfe of what I brought credit for, and all I foresee my needing for this place. If I take-up more, 'twill only bee some small matter for my journey to Venice.

I had Audience on Tuesday last of Cardinal Sacrapanti, who carried me the same evening in his coach to hear the Lamentations sung before the Queen at Cardinal Ottoboni's, and has given me hopes of procuring a special Audience from the Pope: one of the very few things I now want. My language I think conquered; my antiquitys are gott-over; a few mornings more will shew me what modern palaces remain unseen; as many days for my environs-excursions; and then a final adieu to Rome. But this little, I fear, will bring me at least into the middle of the week after next!

Our long expected Holy Week is now very near expiring; and though I cannot say it has fully answered my expectation, yet has it failed but little of it; having afforded us great variety of entertainment. On Sunday I received a palm at

the Maronite,[1] whither I was recommended by Father Mansfield for the singularity of their worship, being of Greece, their Office in Syriac, and their tone,[2] as well as severall of their ceremonys, very peculiar. And in the evening the pilgrims of the severall forreign Fraternitys of Turin and Venice, etc., were received at the Porta del Popolo by the same Fraternitys here, and entred the town in procession. On Munday and Tuesday and Wednesday mornings wee had severall accidental and petty processions, but on Wednesday evening a very solemn one of the Bergamoselis-Fraternity[3] from St Bartolomeo in the Curso to St Peter's, divers Cardinals assisting, and a great variety of machines for bearing wax-tapers and the Crucifix, etc., attending. On Thursday (the great day of all) wee had a very large Cappella of Cardinals at Sistus's Chappell in the Vatican (Cardinal Bouillon officiating), and from thence a Procession of the Sacrament into the Cappella Paolina there, finely illuminated; after that, the washing of 13 poor priests' feet by the Cardinals; the same 13 splendidly entertained at dinner and served by Prelates; then the Cardinals' magnificent entertainment which, and sermon after it, lasted till about 3; and lastly, about 11 at night, the chief procession from St Marcello to St Peter's, like that of the night before but much grander, with more Cardinals and nobles, greater variety of machines, and many scores of Battuti[4] that whip themselves indeed in a most lamentable manner. On Fryday wee had the kissing of the Crucifix laid on the floor of the churches before the altar. And this morning at S. Gio. Lateran's[5] I saw 3 Turks and a Jew christened, and a generall ordination of all degrees by the Cardinal Vicar, lasting from 9 in the morning till 2 in the afternoon. And to morrow, to compleat all, wee expect the Pope's Benediction from his Palace at Monte Cavallo, if the rainy weather don't prevent. More particulars I should give you, and by Tuesday's post possibly may; but at present

[1] The Maronite College at Rome, founded by Gregory XIII in 1584.
[2] *I.e.* the pitch at which the Service was intoned.
[3] Bergamo, N.E. of Milan, was a Venetian possession.
[4] *Battuti* = the beaten, *i.e.* Flagellants.
[5] The Church of St John Lateran was one of the Jubilee churches.

both paper, pen, and post forbidd all but my begging your humble duty,[1] and remaining, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew, J. Jackson.

201 [MS. ii. 105]. Dr Shadwell to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

[*Paris*], *Monday April* $\frac{[1\ O.S.]}{12\ N.S.}$, [1700].

Dear Sir,—The post is just come in from England without any newes of or from Mr Pepys, which makes me apprehensive, and gives you the trouble of this to make what use of my feares you think fitt. I would not willingly have them spoile your measures without better grounds, and yet I can't forbeare letting you have thus much to confirm my last on this day sennight from, Dear Sir, Yours sincerely, J. Shadwell.

I received yours with the long enclosd on Fryday.

202 [MS. ii. 106]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, Tuesday April* $\frac{[2]}{13}$, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—The further particulars I bespoke (in my last of the 10th) your expecting by this night's post of our late Holy Shews come best related, and with most authority, in the printed papers enclosed; which after perusal, I begg the favour of your sealing up in the letter accompanying them, and presenting both with my humblest service to Mr James Houblon. They are very exact, and, with what I have already said to you, leave little or nothing behind untold.

By the next post I hope to have finisht my *emplettes*,[2] and be able to send you a list of them, and notice of my method of conveying them to you; which I believe will be by Leghorn.

[1] "Humble duty" was evidently written by mistake. The words have been underlined by Pepys himself and "blessing" written in above them.
[2] Purchases.

Your compliments are returned with great respect by Mr Martin, whose company I should be glad of to the end of my journey; but being no great lover of the sea, he talks of taking leave at Marseilles. But should it prove so, I'm not so young a traveller now as to be in danger of being lost, or not knowing how to make such a tour as that designed me of Spain and Portugal agreeable to me without English company.

Please to continue me the favour of presenting my humble services to Sir James Houblon and sons, Mr Hewer, Mr and Mrs Edgley,[1] and Mrs Crawley's; Captain Hatton, Dr Smith, Mr Atkins, Mr Hunter, Major Aungier, etc.; and with the same to Mrs Skynner and humble duty to yourselfe, permitt me to remain always, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew,

J. Jackson.

203 [MS. ii. 110]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Rome, Saturday April* $\frac{[6]}{17}$, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—Yours of the 11th ult. O.S. I received yesterday, and am very glad of the continuance of your good health. I wish you could also have said the same of all my nieghbours, as well as friends, without exception. I am very sorry for the dangerous illness of Mr Mussard's son, and heartily condole the death of poor Mr Simonds, who has had but a short enjoyment of his late encrease of fortune.

This morning (after Mass) being, by publick advertisements, fixt for the Pope's giving his Benediction, wee went about 6 with Cardinal Sacrapanti to Chappell, where I heard once more the vocal musick you were pleased to recommend to my observation; but cannot think it, though fine, to answer entirely the characters given of it,—I fear for want of judgment on my part. 'Twas a very large Cappella of Cardinals, and Mass being over, by 2 and 2 (in the same manner as for the candles and palms) they went to the Altar to receive Agnus Dei's from the hand of Cardinal Norris; and after them, the

[1] See note in ii. 13 below.

prelates and their gentlemen attendants. Wee strangers expected to have had our turn next, but were disappointed; by an extraordinary order (as was said) sent from the Pope to the Cardinals to hasten to his Benediction, hee finding himselfe indisposed. Hereupon I immediately ran down, and by good fortune made my way among the crowd (which was very great) into a very good place on the Piazza, at a due distance and just opposite to the Balcony, which was hung with carpets, and over it a very large covering of ordinary canvas to keep-off the weather. In a few minutes after, his Holiness was brought in a Chair, with large feather fans held before him, a mantle on (like that the Popes are commonly drawn in), and his Tripple Crown on his head, with a white cap just appearing under it. He first read a few words out of a book held before him, and then being lifted up in his Chair gave the Benediction with his hand once; and (after Cardinal Ottoboni had read something from a paper and thrown it down among the people) did the same again much more amply, causing the fans to be taken quite away, and exposing himselfe very openly for a minute or 2; the people in the mean time crying *viva, benedetto*, etc., with the greatest transports of joy I ever saw on any occasion. This done, his Holiness retired, and some guns were discharged; serving for notice to the rest of the town to fall on their knees and partake of the Blessing. The poor old man lookt very thin and pale and weak, yet seemed to smile and take so much content in the performance of the Office and the people's reception of it as, 'tis thought, will prolong his life for some years extraordinary. I have seen nothing yet that has pleasd me better than this sight, and were I to see no more of the Pope, I could come away very well contented; but to crown my satisfaction I have a fair prospect of kissing his Toe also to morrow morning among our Catholick gentlemen that are promised an Audience of him at 6 a clock.

All I have to allay my pleasure herein is, that the expectation of these things has kept me from making my visits to Nettuno, etc., this week, and will find me work for all the next. So that I fear it will be to morrow or Monday come

sennight before I shall be able to quitt this place; and then too it will be with no small regrett. The more I see, the more I still find I must leave unseen, its treasures of all sorts are so inexhaustible. But I heartily thank God and yourselfe, Sir, for what I have seen.

By the same post Mr Monro encloses to Dr Sloane a letter from Monsignor Bellisono, complimenting the Royall Society and proposing a correspondence with them. I begg your countenance along with it, when opportunity serves; and can be very glad he might have the respect shewn him of [his] [1] being admitted into the number. No one, I'm sure, could better deserve it, or be more capable of serving the Society in these parts. He is universally read; very communicative; free in his sentiments of the government both of Church and State here; and wonderfully fond of all strangers, but more particularly the English. He still talks of his voyage to England, but I believe it will prove talk only.

Your commissions are in a pretty good posture, and by my next I doubt not of being ready to give you a particular account of them.

I humbly salute all my friends, and begging your blessing, remain Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

204 [MS. ii. 111]. Father Mansfeild to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

[*Rome*,] *April* $\frac{[0]}{17}$, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—The day prooves doubly unkind and melancholy, seing that to its own blacknes it adds the privation of such dear company. The way for you to see his Holynes will be to goe to his Antichamber to morrow morning at 10 a clock, which is the hower appointed for others, and you may joyne your selves to those who have bin promised Audience.

[1] MS. torn here.

I send you Padre (?) Pozzo's [1] frontispiece. The 2d part of the *Scrittori Liguri* was never printed as I am informed, the author dying suddainly before the work was compleated. If any plate be wanting in the Hist: del Vaticano,[2] wee'l gett it changed for a better. Sir, I kiss your hands, and am, Your most obedient humble servant, R. Mansfeild.

205 [MS. ii. 98]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Dictated*].[3]

*Yorke-Buildings, April* 8 *O.S.*, 1700.

Nephew,—Believeing that after soe long silence as this since my last to you of the 11th of March last, it would bee of noe lesse satisfaction to you than I blesse God it is to mee to bee able to give you under my owne hand the occasion of that silence, and this wellcome account of its removeall; I have chosen (as the most, I thinke, I yet thinke it convenient to putt my selfe to the trouble on this occasion of doeing) to make use of Mr Lorraine's for what follows.[4] Which is to acquaint you that it has been my calamity for much the greatest part of this time to have been kept bed-rid under an evil so rarely known as to have had it made a matter of universal surprise, and with little less general opinion of its dangerousness: namely, that the cicatrice of a wound occasioned upon my cutting for the stone, without hearing any thing of it in all this time, should after more than fourty-year-perfect cure, all on a sudden, without any known occasion given for it, break-out againe, so as to make another issue for my urine to sally at, besides that of its natural channel. A thing (as I have sayd before) never till now heard-of, and calling for an operation for its cure every whit as extraordinary, by requiring the wound that has been so long asleep to be a-new layd open again and re-healed, which it has been,

[1] Andrea Pozzo's *Rules and Examples of Perspective* had been published in Latin and English in 1693.

[2] See p. 301 above.

[3] Three duplicate copies of this letter are also given in the MS. (ii. 99, 100, 102; see also p. 318 below). Lord Braybrooke (iv. 288) prints a condensed version of the letter as though it were the whole.

[4] To this point the letter is in Pepys's own hand.

and after that a second time; but both unsuccessfully. But I have great hopes given mee that what has been since done upon the third breach will prove thoroughly effectual; I being (I thank God) once more upon my legs, and though my long lying in bed will cost me possibly some time for the removal of my weakness, yet I am in no doubt of recovering my first state very soon, and in particular, as to yourself, of writing to you more at large by the very next post, by my answering your several of the 3d, 9th, and 20th of March (the 2 former from Naples, the last from Rome), for all which I shall now only thank you, and tell you in general that I am throughly satisfyed with every step of your proceedings mentioned therein; it being my purpose to dispatch this by this night's to meet you at Venice, with a copy thereof forwarded at the same time to Livorn, directed to your several correspondents there; not doubting but that to Livorn will come seasonably to you, in case that to Venice should fail, which I am not without some apprehension of, our friends here having not thought fit to communicate to me these your letters or any other papers during my late illness, but the rather the respiting the same till this very day that they conceive they might with least trouble to me do it. With which, recommending you as before to the next post, and my constant good wishes for the happy progress of your journey, I rest, Your most affectionate Uncle, S. Pepys.[1]

Though the pain and trouble occasioned me by this evil about the parts immediately concerned therein have been very great, yet my chirurgeon (Mr Charles Bernard,[2] a man of fame in his profession) never expressing the least doubt of my cure, and not having in the whole time suffered one quarter of an hour's sickness of stomach or elsewhere, I have not thought it of any use to interupt you and the business you are upon with any imperfect tydings thereof till now that I can report it as a thing past.

[1] The words "Your most affectionate Uncle, S. Pepys," are written by Pepys himself, but in a very trembling hand.

[2] See note on p. 306 above.

206 [MS. ii. 102]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Dictated*].[1]

*York-Buildings, April* 12, 1700, *O.S.*
*Friday.*

Nephew,—I wrott you by the last post, being the 8th instant, to meet you at Venice, with a duplicate of it at the same time to your correspondents at Legorne, one or other whereof I hope will finde you; which further to secure against any miscarriage, that in severall respects would now bee a misfortune greater than ordinary, because of the account they bring you of something relateing to my health and the reason of my soe long silence, I thinke the best introduction I can offer you to this (besides my not being yet at full liberty to bee over-busy with my owne pen) will bee to referr you to the copy thereof, which on this occasion you will for my præsent ease bee contented with from another's, as follows:[2]

[Here follows a copy of the letter of April 8 printed on p. 316 above.]

I go-on with my borrowed hand to tell you that, I thank God, I not only continue but improve in the recovery of my strength, which my necessary confinement, night and day, with my legs tyed in my bed (for the better securing the reconsolidation of my wound) had unavoidably sunk in a great degree; but without other prejudice to my general health.

And now for what I promised you in my last upon your three mentioned therein, of the 3rd, 9th, and 20th of March; I shall introduce it with the most welcome tydings of my having since that received your elaborate one of the 23, and a shorter of the 27 of the same month with the former from Rome. To all which, in those particulars wherein they agree, pray take for my better ease my common answer, viz., that I am equally delighted with what I gather from all of them

[1] The version of this letter printed in Braybrooke, iv. 289, is only a few extracts from it, run together into continuous prose, without any indication that they do not constitute the whole.

Two duplicates are given in the MS. (ii. 103 and 107). The former supplies the further postscript of April 12, and the addition of April 15 printed on p. 323 below.

[2] So far, the letter is in Pepys's own hand.

relating to your health, your thoughtfulness all along in the making the most every where of your time for the answering every laudable end of your travel, the succinct and yet plentiful account you give me of your several motions, stays, employments, and observations, useful or diverting, recurring therein; your mindfulness and care of what commissions you stand charged with, either from myself or others your friends; your remarks of the different and much-to-be-lamented methods of the generality of your country-men, though sent abroad upon the same virtuous designs with yourself; and lastly, the memory you carry every where about you of the measure as well as fruit of your expence, which I am so fully perswaded-of as to joyn that also in the thanks which, in one word, I here give you for the whole; praying God to continue you in his good keeping, so at the close of your voyage you may find cause even to thank yourself for the benefits which this your conduct now may (I hope) reasonably intitle you to. Which having said with equal reference to them all, I shall (very shortly) give you, what I think you may reasonably look for, my more particular noting to you upon any thing contained severally in your said letters. And first, I own as a great omission that I did not tell you that Dr Mountague's advancement to the Deanery of Durham was it that made room for our champion's seisure on Trinity. I shall not (I believe) direct any thing to you after this to Venice; but shall not fail (for fear of any misadventure in its passage to this) to give a copy of it to Legorn, by the way of France, on Monday next (this coming by Flanders), with what, if any thing, of news shall happen between this and then. Nor do I doubt of having more opportunitys of following you thither before you can be dispatched thence, that I may be able to say something to you towards your information and guidance at your arrival at Cales,[1] which on all hands is agreed will be your next rendezvous, there appearing nothing for mee to say by way of advice to you hence towards your getting thither, forasmuch as Mr Hewer tells me from Burchett [2] at the Admiralty that we

[1] *I.e.* Cadiz.

[2] See note on p. 168 above.

are not likely to have any man of war in the Streights bound-out thence towards Spain within any reasonable time, so as to have given you a lift to Cales. Which I should not have been sorry for, that you might had a little taste of the discipline, or rather no-discipline, of the King's ships; which passage we designed you a warrant from our sea-governors here for the enabling you to have demanded, had any ship of war been in view to have given it you. The person you will have to direct yourself to at Cales from Sir James Houblon will, I doubt not, be Sir William Hodges,[1] his correspondent and my old friend there. But of that you shall hear more by the next, or at least timely enough for your use thereof. I congratulate you your advancement in the Italian tongue, as also the satisfaction made you for your undesigned stay at Naples. I believe as you do, but will make myself more sure of it by a stricter examination than I can yet make touching the safety of all our past letters but that one of yours from Turin and that of mine for[2] Venice. You shall also know something more particularly of the history of the Bishop of London's and Colonel Sackfield's letters, and have your acknowledgments abundantly paid 'em for them.

I shall take care to see your bill for 150 dollars of Signor Rizzi's duly honoured. You have left nothing for me to say more than to thank you for the choice of the purchases of books, prints, etc., you have made for me at Rome, and particularly in the History of the Vatican. But I am sorry I did not, when you were at Naples, mind you to get me the best prints you could meet with there of the head of Massaniello, the head of the last great revolution there.[3] Pray see if you can supply it at Venice, Legorn, or any where else. You greatly refresh, in one of these letters, the trouble I have often been under for your want of some knowledge and practice in Drawing; but there is no help for it now, at least before you get home again. I thank you for your wishing me a share in your musick at Rome; but that must be born[e] with too.

[1] Sir William Hodges, a London merchant trading with Spain, had been created a baronet in 1697 for giving financial assistance to the Government.

[2] MS. "from."

[3] Masaniello was the leader of the Neapolitan revolt of July 1647.

I should be sorry you should come away, notwithstanding your sight of my Lady Salisbury's nose, without seeing the Pope's Tiara and kissing his Toe. For relicks I perceive you've furnishd yourself abundantly. We shall settle the business of the 18th century [1] at our meeting. I wish (?) the glorys and entertainment of the Holy Week may answer your expectation, and then you'll've (I think) compleatly finished your part of the Jubilee; provided only that you've accomplished your copy of the Vatican-Letters and lighted on the book of its graving there.

I do n't fail of doing you right touching your remembrances to all your friends (wherein you do very well), and in your letter now to Mr Hewer (which he has), nor are any of them behind hand with you, though it neither is so necessary, nor am I at this time in any fit condition, to give you a list at length of 'em. But indeed they are all of 'em very thoughtful of and respectful in their complements and wishes to you.

Lastly, you want (I see) some news (though that you mention was very true) and therefore for once let me be your post-man, and tell you that our State has been for some time in a small convulsion in Parliament,[2] where our Ministers have been most of 'em by turns roughly handled. As one instance of which, the King has been but 2 days since addressed-to from the Commons, that no person (principally aimed at the Dutch Lords) not born in his dominions should be admitted to his Council, either in England or Ireland.[3] And no longer ago than yesterday, he prorogued this Parliament to the 25 of the next month, after having been contented to pass several bills that, to the very moment of his passing, very few could perswade themselves he ever would have done; and particularly a Bill of Resumption to the use of the publick of all the forfeited estates by the late rebellion in Ireland which he has actually distributed, to an invidious value, among a small number of persons he favoured, such as my Lords Portland,[4]

[1] See p. 304 above.
[2] See note on p. 306 above.
[3] This resolution was passed by the Commons, without a division, on April 10, 1700, and the dissolution took place on the following day.
[4] William Bentinck, first Earl of Portland.

Albemarle,[1] Gallaway,[2] Romney,[3] Athlone,[4] etc., and in particular Mrs Villers,[5] to whose share the late King's private estate is fallen, valued at above three hundred thousand pounds sterling, or 25,000*l.* per annum.

And thus praying God to protect and bless you, I rest,
[6] Your truly loving Uncle, S. Pepys.

I ought to tell you further, that the Old East India Company have, to the joy of all our friends, obtayned theyr great point against the New, by haveing gott theyr bill passed (beyond all expectation) this Parliament, confirming them in being a separate Corporation, against all the labour of the New to hinder it.[7]

Je vous salue bien humblement. P. L.

[In continuation of the postscript to this letter of April 12. As may be inferred from the spelling, the first paragraph is in Mrs Skynner's hand.]

And to that I shall heare add another bill, omited in my postscript to the copy of this sent to venise, by which this parlement (upon what new provockasions or considerasions I know not) has proseded to a greater degree of severity against oure Roman Catheleeks than there predesessers have ever before done, by condemning every of them who, being bread up in that profesion, dos not publickly and solomley renounce it and take on him the protistent, at or before the age of 18, to forfite his whole inheritance (be it never soe great), and transfering the right therof *ipso facto* to the next akinn. Which (say thay) dos more than justifie all the King of France does against his pro tilstent subjects. Another thing indeed

[1] Arnold Joost van Keppel, first Earl of Albemarle.
[2] Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, first Earl of Galway.
[3] Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, brother of Algernon Sidney.
[4] Godert de Ginkel, first Earl of Athlone.
[5] Elizabeth Villiers, William III's mistress, married in 1695 Lord George Hamilton, who in the following year was created Earl of Orkney. Her proper title was therefore Countess of Orkney, but she was often disrespectfully alluded to as "Mrs Villiers." According to Swift, she "squinted like a dragon."
[6] From this point the letter is in Pepys's own hand, with the exception of the salutation in French from Paul Lorrain.
[7] See p. 306 above.

ther is that lookes somwhat a mitigasion of our present lawes, by repealing soe much thereoff as subjec[te]d to death every Romish preist found anoung us, by condemning them now to perpetull impresenments only; but this allso that party take to be much worse than what they ware before exposed to, because soe seldom found (by the tendernes of our jureys) exacted from them.

[1] One thing more makes much talk here, viz., the D[uke] of Norfolk's having obtained at last this Session his desired divorce from his wife (now bare Lady Mary Mordaunt again, from being the first Dutchess of England [2]) with liberty to marry again elsewhere.

*April* 15, 1700.[3]

Just as I was sealing of this letter, came your very welcome letter of the 3rd instant N.S. from Rome, wherein I am greatly afflicted for the interruption which you will have met with in my letters from the within mentioned occasion, which I trust in God is well at an end; besides that there are three more of mine I have yet to hope you will receive before your quitting Rome, of later date than the last you mention to have received of the 8th of February, viz., one of the 22nd ditto, and two of the 4th and 11th of March, after which you will have an unwelcome silence to bear with from me till that within mentioned of the 8th and this of the 15th instant. And that you may be at ease as to your own, know for the present (for I am not yet well enough to examine matters more strictly, your letters, with all other papers, having for some time been wholly kept from my sight during my sickness), that I have received all you have mentioned to me to this 3d of April, saving only that of the 24th of February from Naples, which possibly may also be safe, though at this instant it may not be in my way; but I shall carefully look after it. I con-

[1] In the duplicate in ii. 107 of the MS. this sentence is in Pepys's own hand.

[2] Henry Howard, seventh Duke of Norfolk, married the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Peterborough, but owing to her conduct he had been separated from her since 1685.

[3] A duplicate of this is given in the MS. (ii. 109), and a single sentence from it is printed in Braybrooke, iv. 290.

gratulate you your musick-satisfaction, and at least hope your markettings will be all good, both in choice and reasonableness of price, though the whole amount may a little exceed. But what with my sickness, and absence for some time from town for the air at Clapham, and the unknown additions your present purchasings will probably make on most, if not every head of my collections of prints now before me, I foresee they will not be in a condition of being finally put together before your return. For which I recommend you to God Almighty, and with the very kind remembrances of Mrs Skynner and all your friends here, I bid you once more ADIEU.

207 [MS. ii. 114]. MR JOHN JACKSON TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].[1]

*Rome, Saturday April* $\frac{[13]}{24}$, [1700].

HONOURED SIR,—Though not the very same day we expected, and as my last of the 17th instant anticipated to you, wee had the next, about 2 in the afternoon, a particular Audience of his Holinesse at Monte Cavallo, headed by the Rector of the Scotch College, who harangued him on our behalves. Hee was in a very small room, in an armed chair, behind a table under which came his feet (but only his right toe just appearing under his robe), his slipper of crimson velvet with a gold cross embroidered on it, which wee that would kissed on our knees; and in return had indulgences granted both ourselves and friends for 1000 years. Hee was very pale; seemed much spent; his head inclining a little, but his voice strong enough; hee answered to our Father, *Non meritiamo questo*,[2] etc. The ceremony was soon over, and wee returned, but not (as wee entred) on our knees; on which also wee received his formal Benediction.

The rest of the week has been spent in attempting twice

[1] Lord Braybrooke (iv. 290) prints isolated extracts from this letter as though they ran continuously, and by adding the signature at the end gives the quite erroneous impression that he is reproducing a complete letter.

[2] The sense of the Italian is, "We do not deserve this."

to obtain a copy of H[enry] 8's letters,[1] but unsuccessfully (nothing being to be done with out licence from the Library-keeper, Cardinal Norris, requiring too much time to be now offered at); in reading them attentively; in compleating as far as possible the rest of my commissions; and in bidding adieus. To morrow early I sett-out for Civita Vecchia, and return on Tuesday; on Wednesday I sett-out again for Nettuno, and hope to be back again on Fryday-evening; Sunday being fixt for our beginning our tedious journey to Venice. Which will allow me an opportunity of hearing once more from you before my going, if your letters should be still coming this way.

I am at this time very busy in packing-up, and must begg your excuse for my breaking-off here without giving you the particulars of my purchases as I intended, but by the first opportunity you shall not want them.

If next Saturday bring me nothing from you, I shall think my 15 days journey to Venice above 100; hoping at least there to meet with your commands, and tidings of the confirmation of your good health.

Pardon the rest, Honoured Sir, and permitt me to continue, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew, John Jackson.

208 [MS. ii. 112]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[2]

*Monday April 22, 1700: York Buildings.*

Nephew,—This comes rather to shew you that by God's favour I am once againe in a writeing-condition than that I have any great matter to entertayne you with, after my 2 of the 8th and 12th instant to Venice, and theyr duplicates of the same dates, with a continuation of the latter to the 15th, to Legorne; wherein I emptyed my selfe of all that my soe long silence to you (whereof I therein gave you a very particular

[1] See p. 277 above.

[2] The duplicate copy of this letter sent to Leghorn is given in the MS. (ii. 113).

account, and of the happy conclusion of it) had gathered for my saying to you. And to them therefore I shall referr you, all I have now before mee of care for you being the considering what provision (if any) is to bee made here towards the adjusting or facilitateing of matters against your comeing to Legorn, for your sea-conveyance thence homeward; though by all I can yet meete with, there is little hopes of being able to ascertaine any therein here, but must leave it to your owne discretion in watching your opportunitys with the advice of friends) from port to port, as the same shall happen: only you may depend upon't that you shall not want what advice wee can give you hence concerning it, directed to you to Legorne.

And here I thought to have shutt up, when (as in the case of my last) I am most wellcomely furnished with new matter by the arrivall of yours of the 10th instant from Rome giveing mee a most satisfactory account of what had past with you of every kinde since that of the 3d; too many to bee here singly reflected on, nor much needing it, the burthen of the whole being likely to bee the same, namely, the acknowledgement of my owne content therefrom, and congratulateing you in yours. Know only a little more particularly that my last will have given you my state of our correspondence to that day, as this carrys it on to this, and I thinke with little (if any) difference from yours. I allow alsoe of the consideration leadeing you to your print-excesse. God send them well here, and you with them; wherein pray thinke and advise whether your little relicks that you mention may begett you noe interruption at theyr landing here. Your 2nd bill of 150 dollers from Seignr. Rizzi shall bee duly answered. Lastly, your Audience of the Pope will bee little lesse than a Triple Crowne to your journy, as your comeing away without a sight of him would bee a great abatement to your finishing of it.

I pray God blesse you, and rest, Your most affectionate Uncle,

S. Pepys.

209 [MS. ii. 121]. Dr Shadwell to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Paris*, $\frac{[April\ 22,\ O.S.]}{May\ 3,\ N.S.}$, [1700].

Deare Sir,—When I fell out with Naples I had sufficient reason, but soone after recieving a packet from thence, I was in some measure reconcild to the place, and could now perhaps be able to bear the sight of it.

I believe you have by this time receivd an allarm occasiond by my feares for Mr Pepys, the occasion of which you will recieve an account of from him at Livorne, whither I have this post sent his letter, which I recievd directed thither, the reason of which I dont know, for by yours from Rome of April the 13th you send me your direction for Venice. I hope that has not broke your measures, since Mr Pepys writes me word he is in a fair way of recovery, and that you shall continue your tour, in which I heartily wish my self with you; and that we may meet the sooner at Paris, pray know that a certain lady's journey is put off at least till the latter end of this, if not till next year.

I dispatchd your letters for England last post, and shall be allways ready to receive your commands, who am, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate humble servant, J. Shadwell.

210 [MS. ii. 116]. Mr James Houblon to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Friday*, 5 *a clock*, *April* 26, 1700.

Sir,—In observance to your commands, I return you the Italian prints, and take this opportunity to inquire after your health and to acquaint you that I intend to write Mr Jackson this night to Venice, this being the last post that any letter will reach him there, unless he make a longer stay than I imagine he will; if you have any message you woud convey to him by my hand, be pleasd to signifye it to me and I will faithfully incert it.

My father has writ to day to his friends at Lisbon, Mr Josiah Milner and Mr James Bulteel, to furnish Mr Jackson when he arrives there with 4 to 500 millrees, and by the first opportunity he will lodge a credit for him at Cadiz.

My father was perswaded to bleed this morning, and is gone to the Forrest[1] this afternoon; I am in hopes he is better. I heartily wish you an intire re'stablishment of your health, being, Sir, Your most faithfull and affectionate humble servant,

JAMES HOUBLON, JR.

211 [MS. ii. 115]. MR JAMES HOUBLON TO MR JOHN JACKSON [*Holograph*].

*London, April* 26, 1700.

DEAR SIR,—Your very agreable lines of the 13th instant were deliverd me yesterday, and for your favours of Chris'mas and Candlemas Day I have been long indebted you, as I am greatly for the entertainment I have had in reading those extraordinary relations of your travells you direct to Mr Pepys, who is so very obliging as to communicate them to his friends, and they unanimously concurr with him in applauding your stile, and exact observance of things befitting the curiosity of a traveller, which have often revived in me most pleasing remembrances of what I have seen and heard, and make me thirst after a repetition of that scene of my life I esteem the most happy.

I sincerely wish you a continuance of the same good fortune you have hitherto mett with. I beleive no gentleman abroad has been more successfull, or hath shewn better conduct in his travells than yourself, that I think the little memoire I gave you, and which you so obligingly and frequently mention, was perfectly useless.

I guess this will reach your hands at Venice, for though there be but 14 days to the Assention, yet the curiosities and beauties of Venice will (I make no question) detain you some days longer in that noble citty; and I flatter myself you will

[1] See note on p. 232 above.

dedicate one houre to visit my deare friend at St Martha, to whom I have obligations as inexpressable as my ingratitude, which wholy incapacitates me to frame a letter to her; however, as I desird, you may sincerely assure her (though she cannot credit me) that I am most affectionately her servant.

By what I gather from your letters, I imagine you will have Florence to see after you have made the tour of Lombardy, and thence go to Legorne, to imbarke I supose for Marseille. It's probable you may find there some vessell bound directly over, yet I fancy you'l be tempted to coast the Riviera to visit Genoa again, and thence along the Riviera Ponente to Nizza [1] and Tolon; [2] and in case you do not meet with a speedy conveniency of shipping from Marseille to the coast of Spain, I beleive you will think it adviseable to go by land from Montpellier to Narbon,[3] Perpignan, Roses,[4] and Barcelona, or onwards till you can find imbarcations to carry you to the other ports of Spain as far as Cadiz. Your Unkle seems to approve of this, intending to give you your full scope in the *giro* [5] you have projected, and was telling me he had an inclination that from Cadiz you shoud visit the Court of Madrid, but he feard it woud interrupt your marine voyage; whereupon, beleiving it woud be agreable to your bent of seeing the most you can, I proposed as an expedient that from Madrid you might easily travell by land to Lisbon, and lose only the voyaging from Cales thither, which indeed woud be no loss at all, for between those two ports there is nothing to be seen or learnt. Mr Pepys was so well sattisfied with the proposall, that he told me 'twas the only point he woud injoyn you in the whole course of your travells. If this be not suitable to your purposes, you must blame my too forward zeale of procuring that for you which of all things I shoud have most desird for my self.

My father commands me to return you his gratefull acknowledgments of your frequent remembrances and kind concern for his health, which truly he has not yet recoverd. He has lodged creditts for you at Lisbon, as far as 500 milreis, about

[1] Nice. [2] Toulon. [3] Narbonne.
[4] Rosas. [5] Tour or circuit.

150*l.* sterling, with Messrs Milner [1] and Bulteel, and by the first post he will do the same at Cales with Sir William Hodges [2] and Company.

Mr Pepys lately much discomposd his friends with a dangerous indisposition; he has now pretty well recouverd it. I heartily wish an intire re'establishment of his health, that you may have a joyfull meeting at the end of your journey, for I again assure you he is extreamly delighted with the proffit and improvements you acquire by it.

In all your enterprize I affectionately desire you may succeed to your wishes, and injoy all the felecities this world can give you, with a sure inheritance of that above; being without any manner of reserve, Sir, Your most obligd friend and faithfull humble servant, JAMES HOUBLON, JR.

My brother [3] with much civility salutes you.

My sister putts me upon taking too great a liberty with you, to intreat you to send her a Solemn Church Cantata upon occasion of the Jubilee or any other religious ceremony, if you can without trouble procure it.

Sir, letting Mr Pepys know I intended my self the honour to write you this night, with offers of my service to convey any message he had to you, on the other side you have his own words copied, being in answer to mine.

"And yet take the liberty you offer me of using your hand for want of my own, to tell my nephew that I have wrott three letters to him since my being in condition of writing (which I thank God mends daily) to Venice of the 8, 12, and 22nd inst. O.S., with duplicates thereof of the same date to Legorne (as uncertain whither), and shall from henceforward do it only to Legorne, where he shall heare again and again from me before he quits that place; having nothing fresh to say to him since my last but the owning and thanking him for his of the 13 Aprill N.S., which I have since received. And for your self, I am mightily bound to you for your remembrance

[1] James Milner, a London merchant, was engaged in trading with Portugal on an extensive scale.

[2] See note on p. 320 above.

[3] Wynne Houblon.

of and so generous a care for him in your taking this time for letting him have your advice, etc., of so much moment to him. Wherein pray let him know how little you or I differr from him in his indifference as to his passing the remainder of his travayl by himself, in case of Mr Martin's and his parting."

212 [MS. ii. 118]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[1]

*Monday April* 29, 1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—My 3 last, from my uncertainty of meeting with you (partly from my then late long silence by sicknesse, and partly from your uncertaine accounts of your time for leaveing Rome) I have sent to you double, viz., of the 8th, 12th, and 22nd instant O.S., both to Venice and Legorne. The last owned my receipt of yours of the 10th N.S. from Rome; since which, to my further content, I have had another of the 13th, wherein you give mee a yet nearer view of your shutting up shopp there, and an expectation of the result of your marketings and your setting out for Venice, but I hope not without first seeing the Lord of the place.

I receiving a visit from Sir James and Mr James Houbling [*sic*] just at the time of the arrivall of this, I did your whole errand to both, to theyr great satisfaction, who doe conclude that noe measures can bee taken or advice given from hence about the method of your parting from Legorn and transporting your selfe further, but that it must bee left entirely to your owne discretion, upon adviseing with friends for your conveyance, soe as to make the most of your sea-tour in your visiting of ports and observing what you may meet with meriting notice in your way on forreigne imbarquations, and particularly in theyr gallys, if you make use of any.

I have since by Mr James understood that his father has allready dispacht a credit for you to his nephews, Mr Josiah Millner and Mr James Boltele, merchants at Lisbon, for (from

[1] A duplicate copy of this letter, sent to Leghorn, is given in the MS. (ii. 119).

4 to/ 500 mil-rees, and intends to doe the like by the next to Cadix.

Since my last, Mr Houblon offered mee an opportunity of telling you by his hand (by the last post) that I shoud not at all bee lesse satisfyed that you tooke the sea-part and coasting-part of your travayle alone, hee telling mee that after trying both, hee chose that way of concluding his.

And now this is the third time together that I have been gladly overtaken by a fresh letter of yours (as I now am by that of the 17th instant) while actually writeing to you; and have the pleasure of findeing my wish accomplished, before its goeing away, concerning your getting a sight of the Pope, and the hopes you have of more before your quitting Rome; which indeed is the single circumstance of curiosity I should worst have borne with your being disappointed in. And if this stay extraordinary at Rome occasion not the losse of your sight of the Ascension-rites at Venice, I shall thinke it very well bestowed.

I observe your character and desire touching Monseignr. Bellisono with respect to the Royall Society, and shall further it. Which (by the way) gives mee an occasion of telling you of a misfortune but 2 days old that has befallen us in that Society, of haveing our Præsident unchancellered, his Seales haveing by the King's Warrant been taken from him by the hand of my Lord Jersey on Saturday last;[1] and is but one of many State-changes wee are ledd soone to expect in consequence of the procedings of the last Session of Parliament.

I am, with the constant remembrances and respects of friends, and my owne blessing, Your most affectionate Uncle,

S. Pepys.

Pray know of the gentlemen, Mr Balles,[2] you are consigned to at Legorne (whither alone I now and hereafter shall write to you during your stay in Italy) whether it bee not they to whom I have reason to pay great respect with reguard to the memory of my honored friends, theyr grandfather, Sir Peter

[1] Lord Chancellor Somers, President of the Royal Society 1699–1704, was deprived of the Seals on April 17.

[2] *I.e.* Messrs Robert and Thomas Balle.

Ball,[1] and father, and more freshly to one of them for a visit I had the favour of from him about 2 or 3 yeares, I thinke, since, with some of our friends of Sir James Houblon's family. If soe, pray fayle not to pay it them, with my utmost acknowledgements and tenders of service, and with care to render the trouble you give them as tolerable as you can.

P. L.[2] salutes you, and is much your servant.

213 [MS. ii. 122]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[3]

*Clapham, May* 9, 1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—I have been here 4 days, and by Mr Hewer's kindenesse am, with Mrs Sk[ynner] and a good part of my family, likely to have the benefitt of its whole summer's ayreing, and with great encouragement allready given mee to expect very good effects from it. This whole family allsoe is full of theyr respectfull mentions and kinde wishes towards you.

You are by your last of the 24th April (for which I thanke you) from Rome, which I observe playnly to have been opened and resealed by the way, at this time at Venice, as being the evening, both here and there, of the Ascension; where I wish you all the satisfaction you expect. But not knowing what your stay is likely to bee there, am in doubt how otherwise to write to you but (as I sayd in my last of the 29th of Aprill) to Leghorne, as haveing allready wrott three to you to Venice, which I trust will all meete you there.

I am mightily pleased with your haveing seene the Old Father, and been partaker of an Audience from him before your

[1] Probably Sir Peter Ball (or Balle), Recorder of Exeter, and Attorney-General to the Queen in the reigns of Charles I and Charles II. He had seventeen children, two of whom, Peter the physician and William the astronomer, were closely associated with the Royal Society (see *D.N.B.*, iii. 77, 78).

[2] This salutation, written on the back of the letter, is in the hand of Paul Lorrain, Pepys's copyist (see note on p. 168 above).

[3] A duplicate copy of this letter, in Mrs Skynner's hand, is given in the MS. (ii. 123). Lord Braybrooke (iv. 291) prints three isolated sentences from the letter and the postscript as a continuous extract.

comeing away; and shall now with pleasure heare of your motions homeward, and your seeing with the same satisfaction what remaynes for your visiting, by land and sea, in your way thither.

Your disappointment about H. 8th's letters[1] I am sorry for, but hope your memory will suffice to cleare the few doubts wee have upon the copy wee are allready maisters of.

My next shall bring you all I am likely to have of advice to you towards your proceding homeward from Leghorne, as not knowing where to meete you after your goeing thence, but as you shall from time to time give mee ayme; therefore pray bee earlily and constantly foresighted therein.

I am in hourely hopes, however, of one more of yours from Rome at your quitting it, with some notices of the view you then had of your next motion.

I am, I thanke God, greatly recovered, and in a fayre road towards being perfectly soe; as your friends all about mee are, and inquisitive after your being the like.

Our Great Seale is putt *pro interim* into the hands of the 2 Chiefe Justices and Chief Baron, till the K ing[1] has further deliberated touching the disposeall thereof; wherein hee seems to procede at this time very thoughtfully. For other matters, I must pray you to content your selfe with the publique prints.

And soe, with my owne best wishes, and the respects of all your friends, I bid you Adieu, and rest, Your affectionate uncle,

S. Pepys.

Sir Peter Daniel in this neighbourhood is newly dead; and soe (I am just now told) is Mr Dryden,[2] who will bee buryed in Chaucer's grave, and have his monument erected by the Lord Dorsett and Mr Mountagu.

[1] See p. 277 above.

[2] John Dryden died on May 1, 1700, and was buried on May 13 in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey by the side of Chaucer and Cowley. Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Charles Sackville, sixth Earl of Dorset, had both befriended Dryden, and especially the latter. Montagu made an offer, which was not accepted, to pay the cost of a private funeral, but no monument was erected over Dryden's grave until 1720.

214 [MS. ii. 128]. Mr Thomas Balle to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Livorno, May* $\frac{[9]}{20}$, 1700.

Sir,—I received the favour of yours of the 1 instant from Rome, and am to acquaint you that I have received your 2 boxes and shall, I hope, load them in a day or 2 on a ship that may soon depart. Signor Rizzi orders me to make him good for 3·75 [1] for charges on them, which, with the charges I am at here, I do intend to account with you for when you come, as I see you intend speedily. I wish you a good journey, and my self the happyness to see you, who am, Sir, Your humble servant, Thomas Balle.

Enclosed are 2 letters received for you.

215 [MS. ii. 129]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Venice, Fryday May* $\frac{[10]}{21}$, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—As the last notices you had from me must have been by mine of the 1st instant to Mr Hewer, of the trouble wherewith I was closing all my satisfactions at Rome upon the accidental tidings of your dangerous illnesse, so shall the first I give you from hence be of the pleasure I am now enjoying myselfe with here; having at my arrival mett with yours of the 8th April, received another of the 12th ditto yesterday, and a 3d this morning from Dr Shadwell, all concurring in the happy news of your recovery, which I most heartily bless God for, and trust in his rendring most perfect to you.

I was detained at Rome some few days longer than intended; the occasions and success whereof I presume you will 'ere this

[1] These figures are preceded by a symbol for the crown. The Roman crown (*scudo*) was worth 10 *giulios*, or 100 *baiocchi*. Three *scudi* 75 *baiocchi*, would be about 18*s*.

have received by my severall letters of April 3d, 10th, 13, 17th, and 24th, which at the date of your last were all you had further to expect from me, except one of Ashwednesday (by France) from Naples, not yet mentioned by you. Wee sett-out from Rome on Sunday-morning May 2d, and after a tedious journey (though full of instruction) by Spoleto, Fuligno, Loretto, Ancona, Rimini, Senigallia, Fano, Ravenna, etc., on the Adriatick, Ferrara, and Padua, arrived here on Saturday evening, May 15th. After so long a voyage, I should not have thought any thing could have appeared so new and surprising to me as at first entrance this city did. So singular and extravagant it is in its situation, being founded in the very sea, and all its main streets canals, which land you within the very thresholds of the houses; the *terra firma* part of the town consisting for the most part of very narrow alleys, except the Piazza of St Mark, which is indeed very fine, though at present seen to great disadvantage by reason of the Ascension-Fair in the midst of it. The number also and regulation of the gondolas plying on these canals is very extraordinary, but above all, the dexterity with which they manage them; shewn more particularly yesterday on occasion of the great solemnity of marrying the sea, which, being extreamly favoured by the weather, was a very entertaining sight. About 9 in the morning the Doge and nobles in the Bucentaure[1] (rowed by 20 oars on a side), attended by a prodigious number of gondolas and piottas, went about a league into the Lido, where first the Patriarch, by throwing-in a large tubb of Holy Water, consecrated the sea, and then the Doge, by dropping-in a ring, espoused her. After this they went to Mass at a little church on the Lido, and then all returned to dinner. The Doge's tables were not without their curiositys, but all much inferior to the Cardinals' at Rome. In the evening was a Curso at Morana (a neighbouring town also in the sea), where by the confusion of gondolas, etc., rowing under a bridge and running foul of one another, if wee

[1] The Bucentaur was the State barge used by the Doge for this ceremony. The name is supposed to have been derived from the figure-head of the vessel.

had not so much solemnity, wee had much more diversion than in the morning.

The hurry of this shew being over, wee are now visiting of churches, etc., which will ridd a-pace. Wee have taken lodgings for 15 days, and before they are expired, (which will bee on the 1st of the next month) hope to have finisht all here to our entire satisfaction. In the mean time wee are providing for our Leghorn-letters to meet us at Milan, which will bee at least a fortnight gained in our receipt of them. I humbly thank you for your extraordinary favour in sending me copys of your 2 last thither, and the hopes you give me of finding originals there also, relating to my journey or voyage to Cadiz. If a man of warr do not present, (which I should be glad enough of) I am in no great doubt of meeting with merchant men to give me a cast from port to port, according to your desire.

As my banquier referrs me, so shall I take leave to do you, for adjustment of what moneys I shall have occasion to take-up here, till the last I recieve before my going.

I hope before my next to find time to copy the catalogue of my purchases at Rome, etc., wherein you will find 2 sheets of more languages than the Vatican affords; and though not Massaniello's head (which was not to be mett with above the common in all Naples), yet a mapp of 1648 shewing all the parts of the city then in the hands of the Viceroy and people, referring, as I take it, to that rebellion. Graving is an art little known at Naples. You will at the same time recieve the state of Captain Hatton's commissions,—what done at Rome, and what to be done in my way through Lombardy. I hope to return with nothing undone but the copy of H. 8's letters,[1] which my dependance on my antiquary's assurances frustrated me in.

I wish I may never hear worse news than what you have last favoured me with, though it be not equally welcome to us both here. There was another article my companion lately had advice of, relating to a Commission for Accounts (wherein I find severall names well known to me), which

[1] See p. 277 above.

you have not mentioned. I hope to hear that confirmed also.

Whilst you say nothing to the contrary, I conclude my friends Mr Hewer, Mrs Sk[ynner], Sir J. Houblon, etc., Captain Hatton, Dr Smith, etc., continue in good health. Please to favour me with presenting my humble services to them; and with incessant prayers for the advancement and confirmation of your health, permitt me to begg your blessing, and remain, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull Nephew,

J. Jackson.

We had masking also yesterday, as in the Carnavall.

216 [MS. ii. 124]. Mr Pepys to Mr Roger Gale [*Copy*].[1]

*Clappam, May* 11, 1700.

Cosen Galle,—Your faviour of the 4 of Aprell has laine so long unanswerd, and yett 'tis by litle less than mericale that it had not laine much longer soe, from a calamity that has kept me, night and day, neere 4 months together, in one poisture (legg-bound) in my bed; and this from a cause as litle heard of as my escape from under it was from my frinds expected: namely, the most unacountable selfe-opneing of the cicatrice of the wound made above forty yeares agoe at my being cutt of the stone, without the least trouble or soe much as any reminding me of it in all that time, to the moment that I was surprised with a paine-less isiueing of my water that way, and it's continueing to doe soe, till puting my selfe (with the advise of my ph[ys]ision, Dr Ratliffe [2]) into the hand of Mr Charles Barnod [3] the chirurgeon,[4] I had it laide open, and went through his prosess till I cannot say I am heald, but (I bless God) restored to such a degree of ease therein as with very litle trouble to enjoy the full benefite of my naturell water-corse againe, without the leaste leake remaining, and with tolarable good assurance of my continuing soe. But in my way to this, I have under gon all the dificultys of a

[1] This copy is in Mrs Skynner's hand.
[2] See note on p. 208 above.
[3] See note on p. 306 above.
[4] MS. "cherioun."

most voilant feavier, that made my case truley desperate, soe as to leave my ph[ys]isiones's nothing to save me by but what was to be hoped for from the removing me into the fresh ayre, where I now am (with Mr Hewre) under very good beginings of amendment, and those dayly improveing, soe as to be within a very neere vew of being (by god's blessing) soon master of a good degree of health againe.

For the contentes of your letters, they're most oblegeing, both in the mater and manour of them, etc., [about his acommodateing mee with the sight of a MSS. out of Trinity College Library, all of Erasmus's owne hand-writeing].[1] I thank you for my hopes at length of seeing my cosen your father once more, whose long stay else where has often tempted me to wish him at Poles Scolle[2] againe. I am, Good Cosen, Your most afectionate and humble servant, S. P.

217 [MS. ii. 125]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[3]

*Thursday, Clapham, May* 16, 1700.

Nephew,—My last was from hence of the 9th instant, since which I thanke God I am soe farr further profited by the ayre of this place as to have little more left to wish towards a perfect recovery.

Since your last, mentioned therein, of the 24th of Aprill, Mr Hewer has communicated to mee yours to him of the 1st instant from Rome, from whence you were then to sett out towards Venice the next morning, where (according to your expectation) you will, I doubt not, meete with 3 of mine, giveing you an account of that illnesse of mine which you had then newly mett with the tideings of, and of the safe issue thereof. I thanke you for your carefull reguard expressed to Mr Hewer towards mee thereon, and had chosen rather to

[1] This sentence, in square brackets in the MS., is in Pepys's own hand: see also note on p. 345 below.

[2] St Paul's School, of which Dr Gale had been high master.

[3] A duplicate copy of this letter, in Mrs Skynner's hand, is given in the MS. (ii. 126).

have your notices of it and my recovery from it (which, I thanke God, I never saw reason to doubt, though I now finde my friends about mee did come to you together, than give you any unnecessary or untimely interruption in the businesse of your travaile. And it is a pleasure to mee that it has succeded; as haveing nothing (I blesse God) remayning of my sayd illnesse but some small degree of weakenesse in reference to my walkeing abroad as I used heretofore to doe, which another weeke will, I question not, sett mee fully to rights in.

Your bills hitherto are fully made good for the 500 dollers, and soe shall this you now mention to Mr Hewer of 150 more; more by soe much than you lately reckoned upon haveing occasion for at Rome. But I hope you will bring home some agreeable penny worths for it, beyond what were then in your view.

I shan't (I hope) long want the satisfaction you intended mee of a list of your *emplettes*,[1] which the news of my sicknesse has prævented, nor a more particuler knowledge of the time your stay at Venice and journy thence towards Leghorne will take up before your arrivall there; whither I now direct all my letters to you (as I have allready noted to you) and whither I shall by my next send you my letter to Cadix for Sir William Hodges,[2] to whom Sir James Houblon has wrott and given you credit.

I observe the marke and number of your bale of books, etc., and shall both watch and pray for theyr safe passage to Leghorn, and thence hither, soe soone as you give mee the shipp and maister's names I am to expect them by.

You have the most kinde remembrances of all your friends here, and in particular Mr Hewer's, whose attendance this day with his Company[3] at Hampton Court, where our King now is and all publique matters are managed, is the reason of his not being the answerer himselfe of your letter, for which hee thankes you.

With which I recommend you to God's protection, and rest,
Your truly loveing Uncle, S. Pepys.

[1] See p. 312 above.
[2] See note on p. 320 above.
[3] The East India Company.

Sir, I have yours of the 1st of May, and am sorry for the trouble which mine gave you. God be praised, the occasion of it is now removed. So I hope you will henceforth prosecute your travells with joy and pleasure, and let us see you here againe as soon as you can. The Lord be with you and prosper you. I am, Your truly humble and most obedient servant,

P. Lorrain.[1]

218 [MS. ii. 133]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Venice, May* $\frac{[17]}{28}$, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—Esteeming all said in the enclosed to be effectually the same, and equally to your satisfaction as if said in this, I shall only add that since my last of the 21st, I have received your 2 duplicates of the 8th and 12th April and continuation of the latter to the 15th, from Leghorn, and another of the 22nd from England; all arriving at the same time with Mr Houblon's yesterday [evening].[2] I am very glad to hear of your advancing [steadily in] [2] your recovery; I pray God to continue it. Mr Ball writes me (of the 20th instant) that my box was then arrived safe at Leghorn, and should in a day or 2 be loaded on a ship that designed speedily for England, but has omitted to send me both her name and the captain's as I desired, and must again send to him for. I am ashamed to referr you to another post for the particulars of this cargo, but my illness I hope will excuse me to you. There come no relicks among them but old Roman buildings, etc.; all my modern ones I bring along with me, for the same reason you have been pleased to suggest. I am always Mrs Skynner's, Mr Hewer's, etc., humble servant; and, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and most obedient Nephew,

John Jackson.

[1] See note on p. 168 above.

[2] MS. torn here.

219 [MS. ii. 127]. Mr Evelyn to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Dover-Streete, May* 18, 1700.

What in the world could have come more acceptably and wellcome to me than the faire progresse of your health, confirmed under your owne hand! The continuance whereof, as I shall daily pray-for, so will it infinitly contribute to the satisfaction of my mind, and consequently to my body's health, whilst we are absent; such influence has the sense of a constant and generous friendship upon one who loves and honors you.

I shall have highly gratified the learned Arch-Deacon [1] by inclosing your owne obliging letter in myne to him. In the meane while, as to your inquiry whether he be like to come to towne this summer, I can onely tell you what he is about that may probably require it. 'Tis now above three moneths since he wrote thus to me:—

"I have had very pressing invitations from severall learnd men of Scotland to draw up another Historical Library for them, in somewhat of the same form with that of the English one; and the plentefull assistances which they have already given and promised have forced me into the attempt. I have made some considerable advances in it, and I hope (if God conserves my health) to finish and publish it the next summer. I designe it in one intire folio-volume, which (I guesse) will be about the bignesse of your Numismata. There are many pieces in our English Libraries that I must enquire after, etc." It is from this passage one may conjecture he may looke this way. In all events he is well worthy your esteeme and the civilitys you expresse.

Vetruvius has said nothing of repaires, nor hardly remember I of any who repented not of an expense commonly greater than new-building, but at Wotton necessity compells me for the present, whilst I please my selfe with a *Castle in the Aire* which I have built in paper. I am sure I shall have enough

[1] William Nicolson, Archdeacon and afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, had published in 1696, 1697, and 1699 the three parts of his "English Historical Library"; and a Scottish division was published by him in 1702.

to do this summer to settle our leale [1] oeconomy there in any tollerable sort, as you will find if the sweete breath of our Surry downes tempt you to descend so low as your most faithfull, humble servants. J. Evelyn.

My wife's to you; and both our most humble services to Mrs Skinner, Mr Hewers, wishing the circumstances of our migration hence alowed us the honour of comeing to kisse your handes at Clapham.

220 [MS. ii. 134]. Dr Shadwell to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Monday, May* $\frac{[20]}{31}$, [1700].

Dear Sir,—On Fryday last I recieved two from you, one from Rome and the other from Venice, and gave an account to England of your safe arrival there the last post. I hope you have recievd the two letters I wrote to Venice to inform you of Mr Pepys's recovery. The consequence of their miscarriage I fear very much, unless some other has more safely conveyd the newes of it to you. He is now at Clapham, and recovers his strength dayly. Mrs Skinner is not resolvd against trying this aire for her dropsy; though I find by the scheme [that] is laide for you, you are, which I am very sorry for, it having given me no small disappointment.[2]

I have this day sent one to you to Leghorne, as I have severall lately, but will venture this to Venice, in case you should happen to stay longer than you expect there.

I have not the least newes to tell you, but that my Lord Chancellour's being out may perhaps be some to you, and that the Seals are in commission for the present. I am, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate freind and humble servant,

John Shadwell.

I took care of the enclosd you sent me for England.

[1] "Leal" is used here in the now obsolete sense of "exact."

[2] Dr Shadwell was expecting John Jackson to visit him in Paris on his way back to England (see p. 295 above).

I just now remember you desird to heare something of Mr Prior's *Carmen Sæculare*.[1] I can only tell you that it has mett with applause generally in England, but there [are] critiques who think, considering the time it has been upon the stocks and the different climates it has seen, it might have been more perfect. Now my hand's in, I must not forget to tell you the famous bard Dryden is dead and buried, as his Virgill was printed, by subscription, and laide between Chaucer and Cowley, according to his request.[2]

221 [MS. ii. 130]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[3]

*Clapham, Thursday May* 23, 1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—Haveing but just now understood by your direction from Dr Shadwell your safe arrivall at Venise, I would not omitt giveing you this notice thereof, and of the satisfaction I have from it, and from the hopes I have of knowing it more particulerly from your selfe by the next, and that you have or will (while you are there) meet with 3 of mine directed thither to you, viz., of the 8th, 12th, and 22nd of Aprill O.S.; and not only thither, but at the same time to Leghorne, as not haveing had light enough to take any certaine measures of your stays and removalls from place to place; but haveing way-layed you at both places with those 3, have directed all since, viz., of April 29th and May the 9th, 16th, and this, only to Leghorne, as reckoning (in the darke) that you must bee gott thither before the first of these last could reach you there. Nor have I any thing now to say to you more than what I did in my last of the 16th, saveing what will now bee better sayd after I heard from you from Venice, which I shall hourly expect (your last being of the 1st of May to Mr Hewer), and with it, notice how you intend next to procede after your stay there in your journy

[1] See note on p. 276 above.
[2] See p. 334 above.
[3] A duplicate copy of this letter, in Mrs Skynner's hand, is given in the MS. (ii. 131).

towards Leghorne, and the time you designe for reaching that place. In the meane time I pray God blesse you, and rest, Your truly loveing Uncle, S. Pepys.

I thanke God I am next to perfectly well, and all the rest of your friends entirely soe, both here and elcewhere; I expecting the honour of a visit from my Lord Bishop of London [1] from Fullam, and his dineing with us here to day, and your Tutor with him, when you will bee remembred.

I have owned the receipt of yours. May God be with you always. Yours most humbly, P. L.[2]

222 [MS. ii. 132]. Mr Roger Gale [3] to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*T[rinity] C[ollege] C[ambridge], May* 24, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—It was no small satisfaction to me to find, by the favour of your last, the piece I sent you gave so much content: and if the detaining it by you sometime longer will add to it, it is in so good hands that I dare deferr hastning the return of it till you shall be pleased to remitt it at your leisure. When that shall be, if you order it to be delivered in York buildings and give me a line of advice, I will take care somebody shall call for it there, and so give you no farther trouble in this matter. How it came into Hugh Peters's [4] hands, and from his into ours, is all mystery to me, for I cannot find him once mentioned in our registers, or one book more of his donation in our Library. Be it as it will, it must be lookt upon as a valuable curiosity, and I must particularly esteem it, since I have been so happy as to serve you in it. I am, Sir, Your most humble and obliged servant, R. Gale.

[1] On Henry Compton see *D.N.B.*, xi. 443. His knowledge of botany gave him some claim to be regarded as a man of science.

[2] This line is from Paul Lorrain (see note on p. 168 above).

[3] On Roger Gale, the son of the Dean of York, see note on p. 177 above. His armorial seal at the back of the letter is an extraordinarily clear impression.

[4] The manuscript referred to is *Libanii quaedam interprete Erasmo*, which Hugh Peters the regicide, who had been educated at Trinity, gave to the College in 1657, as an inscription on the fly-leaf states. The book is in the handwriting of Erasmus.

223 [MS. ii. 139]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Venice*, $\frac{[May\ 24]}{June\ 4}$, 1700.

Honoured Sir, —I have little fresh to offer you since my last to yourselfe and Mr Houblon. The indisposition I was then under is, I thank God, pretty well removed; but the remedys used for it, bleeding and purging, etc., joyned with the hott weather, have left me very faint, and not a little melancoly for the loss of so much time: one little excursion to Treviso, about 15 mile on the Terra Ferma of the German side, being all I have hitherto been able to perform of the much more which I had projected. The catalogue of my Roman purchases is at length finisht, and for saving of postage shall be sent you by to morrow's French post through Dr Shadwell's hand. Besides the box I have already mentioned to Mr Hewer, I have also a share in another sent by Mr Martin through his merchant's hand; who advised him by yesterday's post from Leghorn of its being loaded on the *Robert Bonadventure*, Robert Tisdale, commander, to sail on the 29th of May. I presume mine may also come by the same shipp, though Mr Ball omitted to acquaint me with it; which by the last post I desired him to supply to Sir J. Houblon, with the marks and number of the box. Mr Bowdler, I believe, will have the care of taking-up Mr Martin's box, and it may not be amiss to advise with him concerning the method of doing it. But you will best judge of this when you see the particulars of my cargo, and have informed yourselfe what custom they may be liable to.

Wee hold our purpose of departing hence, God willing, upon the 11th instant for Padua; and so as per my last.

With which, and hopes of happy news from you at Milan, where I have ordred your Leghorn letters to meet me, I rest, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew,

J. Jackson.

My humble services to Clapham, Winchester-Street,[1] etc., and your own table.

224 [MS. ii. 146]. Mr John Jackson to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Venice*, $\frac{[May\ 31]}{June\ 11}$, 1700.

*Fryday, 4 morning.*

Honoured Sir,—Yesterday's shew (not unworthy the staying-for) being over, I am just now departing for Padua, whither all the world almost is flocking; though with some difficulty, by reason of the unusual heigth of the waters on that side, occasioned by the late rains, etc. Upon adjustment yesterday with the Signori di Berti, I made up the summes I had taken of him, just 80 pistols, or 2400 Venetian livres, for which I gave him my double receipt. The summe I am sensible is no small one, yet I hope you will please to think favourably of it. I have been here near a month; I have been driven to make me some cloth[e]s here, but with all the husbandry possible; and I have a large tour to make before I reach Leghorn. The unavoidable expences of my travelling is the greatest alloy to my satisfactions therein, being desirous to recommend myselfe to you on that side, as well as on all the rest.

Please to favour me with giving the enclosed to Mr Houblon, and let the time of day and the occasion excuse what more might be expected from, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew, J. Jackson.

225 [MS. ii. 88–90]. Signor De Berti's Accounts with Mr John Jackson at Venice in June 1700 [c. *June* 1].

[Of these, some are omitted. The table here printed is endorsed, "Particulars of the several Venetian species of money provided me by and received of Signor de Berti."]

[1] William Hewer lived at Clapham and the Houblons in Winchester Street.

*Of Different Species.*

GOLD.

| | | £ | £ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pistol [1] | whole | 30 | |
| | halfe | 15 | 45 |
| Zecchine [2] | whole | 18 | |
| | halfe | 9 | |
| | quarter | 4.10 | 31. 10 |
| Ducat d'oro | whole | 11.10 | |
| | halfe | 5.15 | 17. 5 |
| | | | 93. 15 |
| | Wanting in weight of the pistols, 3 gr. | | 0. 14 |
| | | So rest, | 93. 1. |

SILVER.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Scudei.[3] | whole | 9.12 | |
| | ½ | 4.16 | |
| | ¼ | 2. 8 | |
| | 1/8 | 1. 4 | 18. 0 |
| Ducatons [4] | whole | 8.10 | |
| | ½ | 4. 5 | |
| | ¼ | 2. 2 | |
| | 1/8 | 1. 1 | 15. 18. |
| Ducats [4] | whole | 6. 4 | |
| | ½ | 3. 2 | |
| | ¼ | 1.11 | 10. 17 |
| Leon di Livante [5] | | | 7. 0 |
| Oselle [6] 15 @ 3 lire l'uno | | | 45. 0 |

[1] The pistole was reckoned at this time at about 17*s.* 6*d.*
[2] The *zecchino* (sequin) was a Venetian gold ducat, worth about 9*s.*
[3] The Italian silver scudo was worth about 4*s.*
[4] The ducatoon was worth from 5*s.* to 6*s.*, and the silver ducat about 3*s.* 6*d.*
[5] The Dutch rix-dollar, bearing the lion of Nassau, had been adopted by the Turks, and circulated in Constantinople, the Levant, and in the Turkish dominions generally.
[6] The osella was a silver token issued in Venice.

| | | | £ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lire | wholes 2 @ 20*d.* | 2. 0 | |
| | halfe 2 @ 10*d.* | 1. 0 | 3. 0 |
| Lirazza [1] | whole à | 1. 4 | |
| | ½ | 0.12 | |
| | ⅓ | 0. 8 | 2. 4 |
| | | Summa . . | £195. 0 |

226 [MS. ii. 147]. Dr Shadwell to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*Paris, June* $\frac{[2]}{13}$, [1700].

Dear Sir,—I am sorry for the newes your last brought me from Venice of your being indisposd, but I hope it confind you very little, and take it for granted this will waite upon you at Leghorne.

Our newes from Clapham is very good, and will be so much the more so to you since it brings no account of the motions of your evill genius this way, and therefore pray let nothing hinder your taking this place in your way, in which I have no small interest besides the pleasure of seeing you. For next to making such a tour my self, I should be as much entertaind with the account I'me sure you are able to give of yours.

I'me obligd to you for remembring me about the strings,[2] though I hear nothing of them yett, but am in great expectation of seeing Mr Howard, who has so great a character from Mrs Tollet.

Perhaps the honours paid to Mr Dryden you have not yet heard of, who was buried at the expence of some great men in Westminster Abbey from the College of Physicians, where Dr Garth [3] spoke his funeral oration in Latin, and all the witts are in labour to bring forth elegies and epitaphs.

[1] A *lirazza* would be a depreciated or bad lira.

[2] Lute-strings ; see p. 279 above.

[3] Dr, afterwards Sir Samuel, Garth, the poet and physician, obtained permission for the body of Dryden to lie in state at the College of Physicians, where he made the oration referred to before accompanying the remains to Westminster Abbey.

Serjeant Right [1] has the Seales with the title of Lord Keeper.

I am, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

JOHN SHADWELL.

227 [MS. ii. 136]. MR RICHARD COLVILL TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Inner Temple, Figg-tree Corte, June* 3, 1700.

WORTHY SIR,—This is the youth on whose behalfe I have troubled you by the intercession of my good Lord of Ely.[2] If your interest can doe him any service, and you will please to afford him it, upon my word it will be a very great peice of charity; and I hope he will make it his business to meritt your favours by his industry. And I shall allways thinke myselfe obliged to be very thankfull both to my good Lord and yourselfe. Who am, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

RI: COLVILL.

228 [MS. ii. 137]. MR PEPYS TO MR JOHN JACKSON [*Holograph*].[3]

*Clapham, Monday June* 3, 1700, *O.S.*

NEPHEW,—I have newly received, and that with great satisfaction, yours of the 21st of the last from Venice, under the conveyance (I suppose) of Mr James Houblon, it comeing to mee hither from that family, as hee who left it here for mee told my servant that tooke it.

My last to you was of the 23d of May O.S., and of yours to Mr Hewer relateing to mee, of the 1st ditto N.S. from Rome.

You have (besides those of the 8th and 12th of Aprill which you have allready mett with) another to expect of the 22nd ditto directed to Venice; all since being sent to Legorne, from whence I finde you expect theyr meeting you at Milan.

[1] Sir Nathan Wright.

[2] Probably Dr Francis Turner, the former Bishop of Ely, who had been deprived as a nonjuror. He was a personal friend of Pepys.

[3] A duplicate copy of this letter, in Mrs Skynner's hand, is given in the MS. (ii. 138).

For that of yours which you say I have not yet mentioned my receipt of, dated on Ash wednesday, I am not able by memory to say any thing præsently, as not haveing my bundle of your letters here by mee; but at my stepping to towne, which I purpose soone to day for a few hours, I will looke after it.

For the length of your passage from Rome to Venice, I observe the many visitts you made in your way, and soe neither wonder at nor grudge it you, any more than I shall your makeing your most of your next and last Italian journy from thence to Legorne. To which I yet shall wayte one post more before I send you my last advice for Spayne, in expectation of what I may have new yet from you in your next, which you invite mee to look for from you from Venice.

I thanke you for your remarkes upon the towne, gundalos, and ceremonys of Venice at its Sea-Marriage.

Your memory I hope will serve to supply your disappointment and mine about H. 8th's letters, as your mapp of Naples will that of Massaniello's head.[1] But can that famous citty bee soe barren of gravers!

I shall not bee much concerned for your not haveing a man of warr to bring you home, the seas being now very quiet on all hands, and you more at liberty thereby to enlarge your visitts to the ports, without being forced to stay longer in one place than you would doe, and lose the sight of another that you would see.

Your tideings are true touching some of your acquaintance being taken into employment, and on great occasions too, by the Parliament, viz., Mr Annesly and Sir H. Shere[2] on that of settling the forfeited estates in Ireland otherwise than they had been disposed of by another hand; and Mr Atkins on that of controlling and adjusting the great accounts depending for the Navy and Army relateing to the late warr.

Captain Hatton dineing with mee here on Saturday last, is greatly pleased with the account you give mee of his comissions,

[1] See p. 320 above.

[2] On Sir Henry Shere see note on p. 53 above. On March 30, 1700, he had been appointed one of the trustees to regulate William III's Irish grants.

returning you his acknowledgements very kindly for the same; nor were you lesse or lesse kindely remembred at the same time by a large assembly of friends there, with good wishes on your behalfe. With which, and my owne prayers for you, I rest, Your affectionate Uncle, S. Pepys.

I continue (I thanke God) very well.

229 [MS. ii. 140]. The Dean of York to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*York, June* 4, 1700.

Dear Friend,—In my absence from York a letter from my son Roger brought the most unwelcome newes of your ilness and retirement to Clapham. What can I say under soe great a pressure of grief as doeth now damp my spirits? Among many causes which I have to repent my removeall from London, none oftener occureth than that I parted with the sweet conversation of soe sure, soe suitable a friend. In one of yours you tell me that you looke upon me as a man *departed*. This is true, for I profess to you I have not *lived*, to any content, here.

But, dear Sir, not knowing your present condition, whether indeed you are able to read my sorry stuff, I will break off here, though otherwise I could most willingly have filled the whole sheet. I pray, at all adventures, for your recovery, and for 2 lines from you or some friend to, Sir, Your most affectionate friend and faithfull servant, T. Gale.

I pray you give my service to Mr Hewer, Mrs Skinner, etc.

230 [MS. ii. 135]. James May to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

[*June*,[1] 1700.]

Honorable and most Worthy Sir,—I have made bold to trubell you with two or thre lynes which is to let you under

[1] After June 2 and before June 9—probably about the middle of the week, June 5 or 6.

stand that i am a relation to your honor, for your honorable father and my mother's mother was bruther and sister, and my mother hes only won sister living, which hir first husband's name was heady and the second was bray. She liveth now a widdow in aukenborow and my father's name is may; and I your most humbell servant is now near the Sity in Stratford, and would most humbly disire your honor to help me to a plase. i can both write and reede, and would be very oblegant to your honor in any respeckt. i made bold to come to your honorable house on Sunday last, being the sekond day of June, and intend to be there next Sunday to receve an answer, if your honour please to make your porter aquanted with your mind. so i remain, your most humbel and oblegant servant,

James May.

231 [MS. ii. 141]. Mr James Houblon to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*London, June* 6, 1700.

Sir,—I received the honour of yours very late last night and Mr Jackson's in the morning; by what he writes me, I gather he intended to leave Venice about the 12, to be at Padua on St Anthony's Day, being the 13 inst. N.S., and thence to make the toure of Lombardy and pass the Appenins to Florence, and so to Legorne, which I guess will cost him at least a month or five weeks, and the letters from hence to Legorne being less than 20 days on the way, there's time for 't if you have intention to write him thither. In a fortnight from his arrivall at Legorne, I beleive your letters may find him at Marseilles. It is very difficult to make a calculate of this nature, yet I am perswaded (having allowed for Mr Jackson's gusto in observing every thing worth his notice) that I have made a pritty nere estimate.

My father commands me to make his affectionate acknowledgments to you for your most kind concerne for him; he begs of you not to deprive yourself of a moment's benefit of the air to visit him, for being better again, upon two successive

good nights and days, he intends ere long to wayte upon you at Clapham to injoy your lecture [1] there.

I intreat you to own me for (what I am with great respect), Sir, Your most affectionate humble servant,

JAMES HOUBLON, JR.

I indeavourd to meet Mr Hewers at Garraways to day, but I was not so fortunate; if it be not taking too great a liberty, my most humble service to him and Mrs Skinner.

232 [MS. ii. 142]. THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY [2] TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Admiralty Office, June 7, 1700.*

SIR,—In one article of the Instructions to the Lord High Admirall, established by his Majesty King Charles the Second in Council the 13th of June, 1673, it is expressly provided that all bookes and papers of the transactions of the said High Admirall with relation to the publick affaires of his office shall bee methodically digested, and remaine from time to time for the perusall of any succeeding Admirall. And my Lords of the Admiralty, haveing occasion to inspect into severall things that were transacted dureing the time the office of Secretary of the Admiralty was under your care and menagement, and findeing themselves unable to satisfy themselves therein for want of severall bookes and papers still in your custody, and particularly your Publick Letter Bookes, most of the letters that past between the Lord Dartmouth and yourselfe when hee commanded the Fleete in the yeare 1688, and others; I am therefore commanded to send you the enclosed copie of so much of the Lord High Admirall's Instructions as relates to this matter, and to signify their Lordships' desire to you that you will cause to bee delivered to mee for their use all the publick bookes and papers relateing to the office of Lord High Admirall which are still remaining in your custody, for which their Lordships have commanded mee to give you a receipt. I am, with great respect, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant, J. BURCHETT.

[1] *I.e.* discourse. [2] On Josiah Burchett see note on p. 168 above.

233 [MS. ii. 143]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].[1]

*Clapham, Monday June* 10, 1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—Though by the quickest calculation I can make from your last of the 28th of May N.S., from Venice, I have at least one post more good for my meeting you with another at your arrivall at Legorne, yet would I not lett this post passe without owning my receipt of that, and the enclosed you sent open to mee to Mr James Houblon; for both which I thanke you, and particularly for what you lead mee therein to expect further from you (though yet I have not had it, but am in hourly expectation of it) before your leaveing Venice, and with the more concernment, that I may bee sure of having all before mee before I give you my latest advices for Spayne. Which neverthelesse I shall hardly deferr beyond the next post. In view of which, with many kinde remembrances of you from Mrs Skinner and the whole body of this and the next family, I leave you under God's protection, and rest, Your affectionate Uncle,

S. Pepys.

My last was of the 3d instant to Legorne.

Since this was closed and sealed (to bee superscribed at home) I have received yours of the 4th of June, and am sorry for your disappointments in any of the visits you designed about Venice, and more for the occasion of them, though it bee over. I shall expect what you intend mee by the French post, and take care to watch the arrivall of the *Bonadventure*, and safe takeing of her cargo on shore.

234 [MS. ii. 154]. Dr Shadwell to Mr John Jackson [*Holograph*].

*June* $\frac{[10]}{21}$, [1700].

Dear Sir,—This should have waited on you the last post, but was forgot to be put into the post by a careless servant.

[1] A duplicate copy of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 145). The body of this duplicate is copied by Mrs Skynner, but the final postscript is in Pepys's own hand.

Just now the enclosd [1] came to my hands, as yours did from Venice of the 5th instant, with one for England which shall be taken care of. I am glad you are so soon well, and assure you your health and happiness are wishd by, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate friend and servant, J. Shadwell.

The Parliament of Scotland are so hot upon the buisiness of Darien that they are adjournd.

235 [MS. ii. 140]. Mr Pepys to the Dean of York [*Holograph copy*].

Answer [to the Dean's letter of June 4].

*Clapham, June* 13, 1700.

Reverend Sir,—My condition indeed has within these 2 months been such as to have had my doors thronged for severall days together with the menagers of our Black Guards, to bespeake the conducting mee to my last home. But it has pleased God to respitt it, and by Dr Rateliff's ayd, perfected by the ayre of this place, to restore mee to a very promiseing state of health againe; for which his Name bee praysed and [magnified, and my] [2] thankes payd to your selfe for your soe kinde enquirys after it. [ ] [2] of it, I assure you; what with your removeall from mee first, and the generall dispersion that has since followed to my lately beloved fraternity, I am sated with the world, and am within little of being prævayled with by my physician and friends (my nearest councellers for my health) to bidd soe farr an adieu to't as to sett up the short remaynder of my rest here where I now am, without troubling the towne or my selfe with it more. Of which I may possibly speake more particularly in my next, for if I must bee left to philosophize by my selfe, noe body (I fancy) will blame mee for choosing to doe it in a serene ayre without noyse, rather than where there's nothing of the first and nothing elce but the last. I am, Deare Sir, Your most humble and affectionate servant, S. Pepys.

[1] Pepys's letter of June 3, printed on p. 350 above.

[2] In binding the letter a line has been cut off at the bottom and top of the leaf.

236 [MS. ii. 148]. Mr Pepys to Mr John Jackson [*Copy*].[1]

*Clapham, June* 13, 1700, *O.S.*

Nephew,—Though as I noted in mine of the 10th instant (which told you also, after its being sealed, of my then receiving yours of the 4th N.S. from Venice) I had another yet to expect from you from that place; yet I would not longer delay to say what I have to say to you (which is but little) in reference to your proceeding homewards from Legorn (according to our first plan) by sea; as that which will be a finishing stroke to your travel that will add a greater latitude to your knowledge of the world, I mean, as to the truly useful part of it, than all that you have seen besides.

In your prosecuting whereof I am not at all solicitous whether you are alone or have still your fellow-traveller with you; but leave it wholly as you and he like best, there being diverse cases to be thought on wherein each way has its preference.

In general let me recommend it to you to be as covetous as you can of observing every thing, great or little, so it be new, that occurs to you at sea or in forreign ports; of which last I would have you visit (all the way) as many as you can without too great loss of time, charge, and conveniencys of passage.

Toulon I should be sorry you should miss, or Marseilles on the French coast; nor should Alicant, Malaga, or Gibraltor be neglected on the Spanish, if you have opportunity for it. You will of course mind the vicinity and appearance of the two shores (Christian and Barbarous) in your coming out of the Streights, and particularly that of Tangier.

At Cadiz you will have a great many new objects to entertain you, quite different from all you have met with yet, but nothing so agreable. I enclose you a letter to Sir William Hodges,[2] the chief (I believe) of our nation at this day there. He is Sir James Houblon's and his family's great correspondent and friend, with whom he has provided you credits

[1] A duplicate copy of this letter is given in the MS. (ii. 150).
[2] See note on p. 320 above.

and bespoke his assistance of every kind to you. He is one also to whom myself and Mr Hewer have had old and great obligations, as being not only under his roof, but under his and his friends' direction and providing-for, all the time we were in Spain.[1] I say not this that I would by any means you should admit of or expect any civilitys from him or his family beyond that of a merchant and friend, in his supplying you with moneys and credits, and his advice where you shall have occasion to ask it. Therefore pray take care, by the advice of the master of your shipp or otherwise, to provide yourself of accommodation of lodging in the town, that you may be actually fixt therein before you appear to him, that so you may go to him only as a traveller, recommended to him (as before) for moneys and advice as such, without the least appearance, either of designing him other trouble, or drawing on Sir James Houblon or myself any further obligations for the same. Which is the same that I meant in what in one of my letters I cautionned you in reference to the Mr Balls at Legorn, where this I hope will come just to meet you, according to the best of Mr James Houblon's and my calculations.

And now I mention Mr James Houblon, I cannot tell whether you ow it most to him or myself that you have it left to you by me (if you can order it without too great a waste of time) to make a tripp not only to Sevil, but even to the Court at Madrid, and so from thence by land to that of Portugal. For now you are abroad in that part of the world, I would have you come home as full fraughted with what is to be gathered there towards your future use as your thrifty management of the charge of it will procure you. For it is on that relyance, and the encouragement Mr Hewer gives me to hope that I shall not be deceived in it, that I do with so much alacrity prevent you, rather than restrain you, in your desires herein. And for your making your most of your journeying in Spaine and Portugal, I know not what better to say to you in general and in fewer words than this, *Pry and ask questions*; for

[1] Pepys and Hewer were in Spain, travelling thither from Tangier, from the beginning of December 1683 until February 1684: see the "Journal in Spain," where "Mr Hodges" is frequently referred to (Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, ii. 14).

without it (such generally is the ignorance and incuriousness of that people) you must expect to learn little, nor very much with it; but yet the more for the smattering of Spanish you carryed away with you.

But there is one thing that I must recommend to you to procure in Spaine for Mrs Skynner, and therein to take the particular advice of Sir William Hodges or my Lady (to whom fail not to let my services be most particularly and solemnly made, as to a lady in herself truly valuable, and most justly so esteemed by me), which is a Spanish skin. Whereof there are of very different prices, according as they are rich in perfume; and therefore I would caution you not to covet one of the highest, nor yet of the lowest, but what you shall be by them led to judge a price competent for purchasing a good skin. My only doubt is your not being able to meet with one, either at Cadiz or Sevil, ready prepared, and it requires much time to have one done. But 'tis possible they may favour you with some directions how you may be supplyed therewith at Madrid or Lisbon. But while I am thinking of this, it comes in my mind that you have never sayd any thing to me, nor I to you since your going, touching Mrs Skynner's commission to you about a fann, and some book illuminated in the best manner (as my *Admiranda Italiæ* are, if they were not done in Holland, as I am apt to suspect they were) at Rome.

If there be any English man of war in the Bay of Cales or elsewhere, you may very properly, as an English gentleman in your travell, make your visites to them and their ships; you will be sure to learn something or other of them. And if you let them know your relation to me, if they be old commanders they will probably shew you respect, or greatly forget themselves. If they be younkers, and so may not have had to do with me, you will at least (as before) have something or other new to observe, and that's worth your visit, be it good or bad.

I am just now told that you will probably find Captain Munden, brother of the late noted sea-commander Sir Richard Munden, and Captain Haddock, son of Sir Richard Haddock,

at Cales (the names of their ships I know not [1]); 'tis possible for their relations' sakes they may know how they ought to treat you. However, visit them at a venture, as a piece of respect of yours to them, having heard me speak so much and honourably of these their relations.

We are all well here, I thank God, and at London, and all your kind saluters.

I could almost wish you had a fair opportunity for seeing the ports (some of them, both Spanish and French) in the Bay of Biscay, and more particularly Rochel, Bourdeaux, and Brest, and what (if any thing) is to be seen of the Spanish, nor would I have you neglect it if you should meet with it; but yet not so as to prevent you in my great aim of gaining you as large a taste of the sea as you can have in your passage by it (by steps at least, though not in one continued course) from where you are, home.

Through all which, leaving you to God Almighty's protection and your own careful conduct, giving me as frequent notices of your proceedings and stations as you can, that you may as well hear of your friends here as we of you, I rest, Your most affectionate Unkle,

S. Pepys.

I have our industrious friend Mr Wanley [2] just now with me, who gives you his respects, as also do's our friend Mr Bagford.[3]

237 [MS. ii. 149]. Mr Pepys to Sir William Hodges [*Dictated*].[4]

*Clapham, June* 13, 1700, *O.S.*

Sir,—I have too many and too great obligations to your self and my honoured Lady, to let so near a part of me as the

[1] On Sir R. Munden see *D.N.B.*, xxix. 301; his brother John was also knighted in 1701. On Sir Richard Haddock see *ib.*, xxiii. 127; he was at this time Comptroller of the Navy. Captain John Munden, in the *Hawke* 70, was commanding a small squadron in the Straits. The Captain Haddock referred to must have been Sir Richard's eldest son Richard, who also became Comptroller of the Navy.

[2] See note on p. 104 above.

[3] On John Bagford, the London shoemaker, who was also a professional collector of books, see *D.N.B.*, ii. 396.

[4] A copy of this letter is appended to Pepys's of June 13 to John Jackson,

bearer my nephew pass by Cadiz without making it a principal article of his duty to kiss your own and her Ladyshipp's hands; to inform himself of your healths and that of your family, which I have understood to be happily increased since I had the honour of waiting on you; and to assure you (after all the vicissitudes I have seen, and some felt, since that time) of my retaining a most thankfull memory of the favours, never to be forgotten, which I then received from you, and have been long in hopes of living to have an opportunity of acknowledging them to you in England. Nor (I am told) am I yet to dispair of it, if my friend Sir James Houblon's conjectures may be relyed on, which God grant!

My nephew has been making his tour in Italy, with purpose of closing it with another homewards by sea, making a running visit in his way to Spain and Portugal; towards which Sir James Houblon is pleased to tell me he has favoured him with a credit upon your self at Cadiz and on other of his friends at Lisbon, and I think at Port,[1] which I shall take care to see effectually made good here; and what more he may possibly with your advice see necessary to desire of you upon an offer I have this post made him of visiting some of the ports in the Bay of Biscay (such as Bourdeaux, Rochell, etc.) if he can meet with an opportunity without too great waste of time. For since he is out, I would have him make the most of it, though he be forced to take some of his strides over land, but still so as that his last and longest stage be made by sea.

Mr Hewer, with whom I am now taking my summer's ayring (after a late illness), is also your and my Lady Hodges's true honourer, and no less sensible than my self of our lasting obligations to you both.

With which, committing you to God Almightie's protection, [2]I am, in most respectfull manner, Honoured Sir, Your most faythfull and obedient servant, S. Pepys.

printed on p. 357 above; and another duplicate is also given in the MS. (ii. 150).

[1] Oporto.

[2] From this point the writing and signature are in Pepys's own hand.

238 [MS. ii. 151]. The Archdeacon of Carlisle to Mr Pepys (*Holograph*).

*Penrith in Cumberland, June* 14, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—It's now about three weeks since your worthy and learned friend (Mr Evelyn) was pleased to give me a very acceptable account of your obligeing readiness to furnish me with such transcripts out of your Library as might be of use to me in an undertakeing now upon my hands.[1] Ever since the receipt of his letter, I have been under the care of a physitian at a good distance from my own house; and this is the first day whereon I have been allowed to set pen to paper.

I have, Sir, given directions (by this post) to a young kinsman I have at the Tower to wait on you and receive your commands. You have several volumes which I ought to account for in a new edition of my English Library, if I live to see it deserve one; but the Scotch historians are my present province, and I would now humbly beg your assistance in the following enquiries about some of your MSS. as they stand in the printed Catalogue.[2]

No. 8. You have an History of Mary Queen of Scots. I desire to know by whom and in what language 'tis written; and how well (or ill) the author has performed.

73. In Sir R. Maitland's Collection of Scotch Poems, what historical matters are there precedeing the Union of the Kingdomes in K[ing] James VI?

93. In the old Sea-Law of Scotland (bound up with Balfour's Reports) what's remarkably different from our Admiralty-Law in England? And what relateing to the naval affairs of Scotland have you (Number 129) amongst your 60 volumes of Adversaria on this subject?

[1] See note on p. 342 above.

[2] *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum Collecti*, published in 1697, to which Pepys had contributed an account of his own MSS.

If you are pleased, Sir, to allow my kinsman to take your commands on these heads, you will exceedingly oblige, Honoured Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,

WILL. NICOLSON.

*December* 7, 1700.

Received then of Mr Pepys, for the use mentioned on the other side,[1] on behalfe of Mr Arch-Deacon of Carlisle, a MS. History of Mary Queen of Scotts in folio, and a volume of Sir Robert Maitland's Poems in 4°, which I promise to returne in a fortnight's time.[2] RICHARD HOLME.

*December* 26, 1700.

Received then of Mr Pepys, for the use mentioned on the other side,[1] on behalf of Mr Arch-Deacon of Carlisle, a MS. volume of Sir R. Maitland's Poems in folio, which I promise to return in a fortnight.[3] RICHARD HOLME.

John Orfeur (the ArchDeacon of Carlisle's kinsman) to bee directed-to at the Office of the Ordnance in the Towre.

Hee is Mr Musgrave's clerke.[4]

*January* 2, 1700–1.

Received then of Mr Pepys, for the use mentioned on the other side,[5] on the behalf of Mr Arch-Deacon of Carlisle, a MS. volume of Balfour's Reports, etc., folio, which I promise to return in three weeks.[3] R. HOLME.

239 [MS. ii. 152]. THE DEAN OF YORK TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*York, June* 17, 1700.

MOST DEAR FRIEND,—Yours of the 13th instant was most welcome. I blest God for the satisfaction I received by it, and

[1] The receipts are written on the fly-leaf of the Archdeacon's letter. They are all crossed off in the MS., presumably because the books had been returned.

[2] In Pepys's handwriting, except the signature.

[3] In the handwriting of Richard Holme.

[4] This memorandum is in Pepys's hand.

[5] The receipts are written on the fly-leaf of the Archdeacon's letter.

my prayers shall not be wanting for many years to be yet added to your life. I am strongly inclined to come to London, where I have soe many friends, and you the chief of all. Why I come not I can assigne noe very great reason, though many small difficultyes under which I still strugle, by a kinde of succession continue to obstruckt my journy. To omitt al others, one of my best horses (the very best, I thinck, that ever streind traces) dyed last night of a violent colick; the rest at present are unserviceable, though two of them were bought with designe for to visit you. I am very much of the opinion of Dr Ratcliff [1] and those other your friends who perswade you to that retirement which you now enjoy. There you may have, when you please, the visits of your friends from the great Town; and also that recess from hurry and, as we speake here, throng, which will afford repose to your excellent mind (*πολυτίμητος νοῦς*, the *animus* which you used to say is *quisque*), which if a man doe not allow to act him and govern him, I doe not see wherein that man differs from the very animals.

I am glad that you recurre to your Philosophy; you have long provided yourself of that *viaticum*, which is comfortable as far as it goes; you have also layde in a stock of Christian Philosophy which will complete and make up the former, and certeinly place you in the bosom of bliss. A well led life never fails of an happy immortality. I wish your Cosen Mr Jackson [2] were now with you. His good company, handyness in turning your bookes, and other ministrations, would yield you much ease. When you shall thinck fitt to make your last Will and Setlements, I beg of you that you would be pleased to put all your rare collections (of which you have many) into some one good hand.

I am exceedingly obliged to you that you honour my son with your letters, and that you make your kindnesses hereditary. As our friends (which you intimate to be dispersed) come at any time to wayte on you, be pleased to refresh in their minds

[1] See note on p. 208 above.

[2] This is not a mistake in the relationship; "cousin" was formerly often applied to a nephew or niece.

the memory of him whom you reckon departed. I give my very hearty service to Mr Hewer and all about you. Dear Sir, I pray for our happy meeting as, Your most affectionate and humble servant, THO. GALE.

240 [MS. ii. 159]. MR JOHN JACKSON TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Mantua, June* $\frac{[17]}{28}$, 1700.

*Monday-noon.*

HONOURED SIR,—From the date of my last of the 11th instant, I was detained at Padua till the 25th: one day by the ill weather, which caused the Ceremony of the Santo there to be putt-off till the next; and the rest by some business of Mr Martin's requiring his return to Venice. Though the concourse of Venetian nobles and ladys; the favour I received from Signor Cellini (brother of Mr Houblon's nun) who carried me in his calesh to the Curso, and complimented me with it on other occasions; the balls within the town, and some other entertainments in the environs; contributed to the rendring this delay the less tedious to mee. Yet I think it a great deal too much were it to have been avoided, considering the ground I have yet to goe before I have the honour of waiting on you again in London, and should be very sorry to meet with any more such.

On Fryday the 25th, in the morning, wee sett-out for Vicenza, dined and saw what was to be seen there, and made another post that night. On Saturday-noon wee arrived at Verona, and spent the afternoon in viewing the Amphitheater, now under repair; some other publick things; and the best private collection of medals Greek and Roman, sacrificing instruments, seals, arms, intaglias, images; shells, fossils, animals; original paintings and drawings of the best masters; that I believe is any where to be seen, in possession of the Comte di Muscardo. About 4 in the afternoon yesterday wee reached this place; saw the Duke, Duchesse, and Court the same evening, and the rest of the town this

morning; and are just now setting-out for Brescia, where we propose to be early to morrow afternoon; at Bergamo the next; and at Milan on Thursday. Whence you may please to expect my paying my duty to you again; remaining at present in great hast, Honoured Sir, Your most obedient Nephew,

J. Jackson.

241 [MS. ii. 153]. Mr Pepys's Report touching Mr Wanley's Proposition [*Copy*].

*June 18th* 1700.

A Coppy of the Report this day by me inserted in the Collection shown me on the same subject from Dr Paynter, present Vice Chancellor,[1] Dr Wallis,[2] Dr Hyde,[3] Mr Dodwell,[4] Dr Charlett,[5] etc., Professours and Heads of the University of Oxford, touching Mr Wanly's [6] Proposition of a general Survey to be taken of all the present publick Libraries of Europe, with our opinions of his own singular fitness for being entrusted with its execution.

As well from the convictions I have long layn under touching the disadvantages ariseing to mankind in its pursuits of knowledge of every kind, and more particularly that of Antiquities, from the want of what (among others) it has within its own power to come at, by a due inquiry after and improvement of the materials to be collected from the many publick Libraries of Princes and States now extant in Europe, never yet thorrowly examined and not uneasy to be resorted unto; as also from my long and near knowledge and observation of the general sobriety, diligence, and vigour of application, the proper learning (both as to kind and degree), and singular

[1] Probably William Paynter, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.
[2] See note on p. 107 above.
[3] Thomas Hyde the orientalist, Bodley's Librarian 1665–1701.
[4] Henry Dodwell, scholar and theologian. Camden Professor of History at Oxford 1688–91.
[5] Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford.
[6] See note on p. 104 above.

fidelity of Mr Wanly, together with his particular genius to and talents of fair writing and drawing especially qualifying him thereto; I do most entirely approve of the Proposition contained in the six forementioned Articles, as a matter universally beneficial to mankind, and (as such) particularly importing the honour and advantage of this Nation; further declareing the said Mr Wanly to be the person within my knowledge the best fitted for, and most worthy (with proper assistance) to be entrusted with, the execution of the same June 18th 1700.

242 [MS. ii. 12]. Dr Hickes, Dean of Worcester,[1] to Mr Pepys [*Dictated*].[2]

*London, June* 19, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—I have been ill of a cold since I had the honour to wait upon you and Mr Ewres,[3] and that hath been the cause why I have been so long in performing the promise I made of sending you in writing some things you gave me occasion to say by imparting to me my Lord Reay's letter to you [4] and the letter my Lord Tarbot wrote to him [5] concerning the *second sight*. This is a very proper term for that sight which those Scottish see-ers or visionists have of things by representation. For as the sight of a thing itself is in order of nature the first or primary sight of it, so the sight of it by any representation, whether really made without, as all apparitions are, or within upon the stage of the imagination, as all sorts of visions are made, is in order of nature the second, or secondary sight of that thing, and therefore the sight of any thing by representation, though first in order of time, may properly be called the second sight thereof. Thus the sight of a picture in order of nature is indeed the second sight of the thing whose picture it is, and if custome would allow it, might

[1] Dr George Hickes, the nonjuring Bishop of Thetford, Dean of Worcester from 1683 to 1690, but then deprived.
[2] This letter is printed in full by Lord Braybrooke (iv. 274).
[3] Mr William Hewer.
[4] See p. 213 above.
[5] See p. 219 above.

be so called. But the Scots have restraind the use of the term only to that sight of things by appearance or representation which those seers or visionists among them use to have, but whether in outward apparitions alwaies, or inward visions, or sometimes one way and some[times] the other, I have not yet learned; but it would be an inquiry proper for the subject, and fit for that ingenious lord to make.

I told you when I was in Scotland I never met with any learned man, either among their divines or lawyers, who doubted of the thing. I had the honour to hear my Lord Tarbot tell that story of the second-sight of my Lord Middleton's march with his army down a hill which you read in the letter which his Lordship wrote to Mr Boyle. It was before the Duke of Lauderdale he told it, when his Grace was High-Commissioner of Scotland about 22 years ago. At the same time, as I remember, he entertaind the Duke with a story of *elf-arrows* which was very surprizing to me. They are of a triangular form, some what like the beard or pile of our old English arrows of war, almost as thin as one of our old groats, made of flint or pebles or such like stones, and these the country people in Scotland believe that evill spirits, which they call *elves* from the old Danish word *alfur*, which signifies *dæmon, genius, satyrus*, do shoot into the hearts of cattel, as cowes, oxen, and horses, and, as I remember, my Lord Tarbot or some other lord did produce one of these elf-arrows which one of his tenants or neighbours took out of the heart of one his cattel that died of an usual death.

I have another strange story, but very well attested, of an *elf-arrow* that was shot at a venerable Irish bishop by an evill spirit in a terrible noise, lowder than any thunder, which shaked the house where the bishop was, but this I reserve for his son to tell you, who is one of the deprived Irish clergy-men, and very well known, as by other excellent pieces, so by his late book enstituded *The Snake in the Grass*.[1] I mention this

[1] *The Snake in the Grass* was published in 1696 by Charles Leslie, the famous nonjuror, the son of Dr John Leslie, Bishop of Clogher, the "venerable Irish bishop" referred to in the text. The bishop married at the age of 63, and died in 1671 in his hundredth year. Charles Leslie was his sixth son.

to encourage you to desire my Lord to send you a more perfect account of these elf-arrows, the subject being of so near alliance to that of the second sight, and to wichcraft, which is akin to them both. As for this subject, I had a very tragicall but authentick story told me by the Duke of Lauderdale, which happened in the fam[i]ly of Sir John Dalrymple,[1] laird of Stairs, and then Lord President, as they call the Lord Ch[ief] Justice of Scotland. His Grace told it to me when he was High-Commissioner there 22 years ago, and he had no sooner told it me but my Lord President comeing into the room, he desired my Lord to tell it me himself, which, altering his countenance, he did with a very dismall melancholick air, but it is so long since that I dare not trust my memory to relate the particulars of it, though it was a memorable story, but if my Lord Reay would be pleased to make enquiry into it of the present heir of the family, he would find it a story of great authority and worthy to be written by his excellent pen.

Sir, I beg your pardon for this digression from the second sight to witches, and perhaps the divine whome my Lord Reay tells you hath written a book in the defence of the innocency of seing things by the help of it,[2] would be offended with me for joining them together. In truth, Sir, I long to see that book, being myself uncertain in my opinion whether that way of seeing things be alwayes from a good or evill cause, or sometimes from one and sometimes from the other. One would hope that in good men, who contribut nothing towards the having of it, it should be from good spirits, which the old Danes and Norvegians, from whome the Scots have a great part of their language, called *lios-alfar*, *i.e.* spirits of light,[3] but in those who come to have it by certain forms of words which we call charmes, or by doing and performing such ceremonies as are mentioned in my Lord's letter, one would think it proceeded from evill spirits, which the old Danes and Norvegians called *suart-alfar*, *i.e.* black spirits.[3] Nay,

[1] See note on p. 212 above. [2] See p. 216 above.

[3] The *ljósálfar* are elves of light. Their opposite in Icelandic is ordinarily *dökkálfar*, elves of darkness; but *svart álfar*, black elves, is found in the Edda.

when wicked men have it, though without contributing any thing towards it by charmes or ceremonies, one would fear upon the account of their wickedness, which provokes God and their good angells to abandon them, that it proceeded from evill-spirits. It may also be presumed to proceed from the same cause in men otherwise of unblamed lives who are addicted to the study of magick or judicial astrology, or who are known to converse with dæmons, as many amongst the learned, both ancient and modern, both foreigners and our own countrymen, are said to have done.

A good number of well attested stories out of good historians and records, as well as living witnesses, would help to resolve these doubts. Among the former are to be consulted the histories of the old Northern nations written in old Danish or Suedish, which commonly have the title of *Saga*, which signifies a narration or history, and have been printed of late in Denmark or Sweden. But it may be these theories and many more are sufficiently resolved and accounted for in the book above mentioned which my Lord hath promised to send you. But if not, his Lordship hath great opportunities of further enquiry into facts by which, as by *phænomena*, they may be resolved. It was commonly reported when I was in Scotland that the Lord Seaforth then living had the second sight, and thereby foretold a very dreadfull storm to some of his friends who went by sea from London to Scotland, in which they had like to have been cast away. I once heard the D[uke] of Lauderdale railly with him about it, but he neither did own it or disown it, according to that maxim of the civill law, *Qui tacet, ut non negat, sic utique neque fatetur*. At the same time there was a girle in custody at Edinburgh whose name was Jannet Douglasse, about 12 or 13 years of age, famous for the second sight, and the discovery of witches and their malefices and inchantments thereby. This girle first signalized her self in the Western Highlands, where she discovered how one Sir G. Maxwell was tormented in effigie by witches. She was not known there where she made this, which was her first discovery, but from thence she came to Glaskow, whither her fame having got before her, the people

in great numbers run out to meet her. As she was surrounded with the crouds, she called out to one man, a goldsmith, as I remember, and told him that of so long a time he had not thriven in his trade, though he was very diligent in it, because an image was made against him, which he might find in such a corner of his shop; and when the man went home, there he found it where she said it was, and the image was such, both as to matter and form, as she had described it, viz., a little rude image made of clay. She told another that he and his wife, who had been a very loving couple, of late had lived in great discord, to the griefe and astonishment of them both; and when the man asked the reason, she answered, as she did before, that there was an image made against them.

I have forgot whether she named the witches who made those images, as she did those who made that in which they tortured Sir George Maxwell. But by those, and other such discoveries, she made such tumults and commotions among the people in Glaskow, that the magistrates thought fit to confine her, and sent an account of her to the Privy Counsell att Edinburgh, who sent for her up in custody. But when she came near the city, the people went out to meet her in vast crouds, and as she was surrounded with them she accused severall persons of witchcraft, which oblieged them to put her in close confinement, to keep the people and their minds quiet from the commotions she had raised in them.

This happend a little before the Duke of Lauderdale went the last time High-Commissioner into Scotland, in May 1678, when I had the honour to attend him as his domestick chaplain. Hearing these and many other stories of this girle, I had a desire to see her and discours with her. But it was some time before I could obtain leave to goe to her, because an order had been made in Counsell, before we came into Scotland, that none should be admitted to her. In the interim, upon an invitation by the then Lord Archbishop of Glascow, Dr Burnett of honourable memory, afterwards made Archbishop of St Andrews,[1] I went to see Glascow, where I had the

[1] Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow 1664–9 and 1674–9; Archbishop of St Andrews 1679–84.

happinesse to meet Dr Rosse, then Lord Bishop of Argile, who afterwards succeded Dr Burnet in the Archbishopriek of St Andrews, of which he was deprived, with the whole order, soon after the late Revolution.[1] It was from him I had the stories above related concerning Jannet Douglasse, with many more which I have forgot, from her first appearance in the Highlands to her coming to Glascow. My Lord Archbishop is still living, and if my Lord Reay would please to enquire of him and many others yet alive about that girle, he would be able to give you an account of her much more worthy your knowledge than any thing I can now write of her at so great a distance of time. One thing I must not omit to tell you, that in all her marches from Sir George Maxwell's to Edinburgh no body knew her, nor would she discover to any who she was. After I returned from Glascow, I renewed my petition to my Lord Duke for leave to see Jannet Douglasse, which he granted me. My desire of seing her arose from a great curiosity I had to ask her some questions about the second sight, by which she pretended to make all her discoveries.

I took a reverend and worthy divine of Edinburgh with me, one Mr Scot, minister of the church in the Abbey of Hairyrood, now the palace of the Scottish Kings. When we were first brought to her I found her, as I had heard her described, to be a girle of very great assurance, undaunted though surprized att our coming, and suspicious that I was sent to betray her. This made her very shy of conversing with us, but after many and serious protestations on my own part that I came for no other end but to ask her some questions about the second sight to which she pretended, she at last promised she would freely answer me, provided I would use my interest with my Lord High Commissioner to obtain her liberty, upon condition she went into England, never more to appear in Scotland; which I promised to do. Upon this I began to premise something of the baseness of lying and deceiving, and especially of pretending to false revelations, and the dangerous consequences of such practises, which made all such lying pretenders odious to God and man, and then requiring her in

[1] See note on p. 212 above.

the presence of God to tell me nothing but truth, she promised me with a serious air to tell me nothing but what was the very truth.

I then asked her if indeed she had the second sight, and if by it she knew those things she had discovered, to which she answered in the affirmative. I then asked her if she thought it proceeded from a good or evill cause, upon which she turned the question upon me, and asked me what I thought of it. I told her plainly I feared it was from an evill cause, but she replyed quickly, she hoped *it was from good.* I then asked her if it came upon her by any act of her own, as by saying any words, or performing any actions or ceremonies, to which she replyed, No.

I asked her upon this, if she remembred her baptismal vow, but she did not understand my question till I began to explain it, and then with great quickness replyed, she remembred it, and called to mind that she had renounced the Devill and all his works; then I told her that by the Devill was meant Satan the Prince of devills and all evill spirits under him, and asked her if she renounced them all, which she said she did. Then I asked her if she would renounce them in a form of words that I had provided, which promising to do, I bid her say after me, which she did in the most serious and emphaticall expressions that I was able to devise. I then asked her if she could say the Lord's Prayer; she said, Yes. I bid her say it upon her knees, which she did. I then asked her if she ever prayed to God to deliver her from the power of the Devill and all evill spirits; but not answering readily and clearly to that question, I then asked her if she would make such a prayer to God upon her knees which I had composed for her, which she did without any difficulty.

Then I proceeded to ask her at what distance she saw persons and things by the second sight; she replyed, at the same distance they were really from her, whether more or less. Then I asked her if the second sight came upon her sleeping or waking; she answered, never sleeping but alwaies when she was awake. I asked this question to know whether the second sight was by outward representation which I call

apparition, or by inward representation on the theater of the imagination caused by some spirit, or that I may once more use my own termes for distinction, whether these *second-sight folks* were seers or visionists, or sometimes one and sometimes the other. Then I asked her if she was wont to have any trouble, disorder, or consternation of mind before, at, or after the second sight came upon her; to which she answered, Never, Never, but was in the same temper at those as at all other times. Then I asked her if the second sight never left any weariness or faintness upon her, or listlessnesse to speak, walk, or do other busieness; to which she also answered, No, adding that she was then alwayes as before. These two answers of hers do not agree with some accounts in my Lord's letter, wherein, as I remember, he speaks of one who said he had alwayes perturbation of mind attending the second sight. But as to this, there may be a difference from the different temper of the patients, and the different stock and temper of the animal spirits in them.

This girle, as I observed before, was of a bold, undaunted spirit, and might bear those sights, from what cause soever, without any fear or perturbation, which others of more passive tempers and a lesse stock of animal-spirits could not so well endure. There seems to have been this difference among the prophets themselves, whereof some as we read received the propheticall influx with great terrours, labour, and consternation, of which they complained when their visions or apparitions were over, and desired of God to be excused from the propheticall influx and the burden of it, but of others we do not read they had any such complaints. One of the last questions I asked this girle was, if she desired to have the second sight taken from her, to which she replyed, What God pleased.

After I had discoursed her in this manner as long as I thought convenient, I returned home and gave the Duke an account of my conversation with her, with which he was pleased, and I also told him of my promise to intercede with his Grace for her liberty upon condition she might go into England, but he said that would not be convenient for certain

reasons. After receiving which answer, I sent her word I could not obtain her liberty, and so she was shut up all the while that we were there, but soon after we came away she was set at liberty. When I heard of it, I made all the enquiry I could what was become of her, and how she came to obtain her liberty, but I could not get any further account of her, which made me suspect that she was the child of some person of honour or quality, for whose sake all things were hushed. When I was with her, I asked her of her parentage, but she would tell me nothing of it. I also told her I observed how her words and expressions were of the better sort, and asked her how she, being an Highlander, and in appearance a poor girle, came to speak so well. To this she artfully replyed by asking me why I shud suppose it so difficult for her to learn to express herself well. Indeed her wit and cunning were both answerable to her assurance, which I told you was very great. I designed to give her a second visit, but my first made so much noise about the town that it was not thought fit, and I did not presse for leave again because I had reason to believe the denyall of her liberty would make her sullen and reservd. The famous Lord Advocat, Sir George Makenny of immortal memory,[1] designed to write her story, but why he did not I can give you no account. People were divided in their opinion of her; some suspected her for an impostrix, but others, of whome I myself was one, thought that she was really what she pretended, being induced to that opinion from the notoriety of the facts, which the most incredulous and suspicious could not deny.

If you think these notices worth imparting to Mr Ewres, I pray you to communicat them to him, and to give him my humble thanks and service. You know what busieness I am daily imployed in. Were not my time and thoughts taken up with that, I would have transcribed the first draught of this narrative with my own hand, and then it would have come to you in a better dresse and more worthy of your perusall; but as it is be pleased to accept it, as a small token

[1] Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the founder of the library of the Faculty of Advocates. He died in 1691.

of the great respect of him who by inclination as well as by the many obligations you have laid upon him is, Honoured Sir, Your most obliged humble servant, GEO. HICKES.

243 [MS. iii. 4]. MR JOHN JACKSON TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

*Milano, Sunday* $\frac{[June\ 23]}{July\ 4}$, 1700.

HONOURED SIR,—According to my last of the 28th June from Mantua, I arrived here on Thursday-evening, and mett with the pleasure of your 2 of April 22nd and 29th, sent me hither by Mr Ball from Leghorn; the former a duplicate of what I had before received and answered at Venice, the latter affording me the fresh satisfaction of your continuing in good health, and having then had all but my last of the 24th April from Rome; which has also, I hope, long 'ere this kist your hands, and sett you entirely at ease with regard to what you was sollicitous for my seeing there. I am greatly indebted to Sir James Houblon for his favours to Lisbon and Cadiz, etc., and have already owned it to Mr James. I humbly thank you for the favour you intend Monsignor Bellisono, and shall obey your commands towards Mr Ball, whom I hope to wait upon at Leghorn some days before the end of this month.

The abundance of considerable convents, hospitals, and other publick places, etc. (making a good half of this city) have found us full employment for these 3 days, and with much adoe shall wee finish this evening; finish however wee will, and with God's leave sett-out to morrow on the other halfe of our Lombard-tour; wherein I shall still be mindfull of paying my humble duty to you as often as opportunity presents. Your next, I believe, might meet mee at Genoua; but after that, no more till Marseilles.

I am ever Mrs Skynner's, Sir J. Houblon's, etc., Mr Hewer's, etc., Captain Hatton's, Dr Smith's, etc., humble servant, and, Honoured Sir, Your most dutifull and obedient Nephew,

J. JACKSON.

I have found Captain Hatton's *Scena Letteraria* at Bergamo and his *Atheneo* here.[1]

Nothing has more surprised us here than the swelled throats of the ordinary people; being beyond all comparison worse and more common than among the mountains of Savoy.

'Tis come to be excessive hott: and though this be reckoned a very backward year, the best part of harvest is already in in these parts.

244 [MS. ii. 155]. Mr Pepys to Captain Hatton [*Copy*].

*Clapham, June* 24, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—My last enquiry after your health bringing me no welcom answer, my servant attends you with this in hopes of a better; which God grant!

It serves also at length to bring you my nephew's fresh services and acknowledgments, with an account of his doings in relation to your commissions. I give it you in the terms I have it from him, in a much longer account he gives me of my own, by letter of the 5th instant N.S., from Venice; from whence he set out for Padua on the 11th ditto in his way to Leghorn, and so by a coasting-voyage homeward.

Pray fail not to tell me how he has served you, that I may correct him for it before, by his coming away, it be too late for him to mend it.

I would have given you a sight of his marketings for me, they being indeed pretty numerous, and a great many of them such as will not be thought vulgar; the best of which I am owing to your directing me to. But the ship whereon they are put having been on her way hither ever since the end of the last month from Leghorn, I am advised to communicate it first to some of the Custom-house-folks, who'll be prepared by it to look after the safety of them upon the arrival of the ship. But I expect in a little time my invoyce back again, and

[1] In a note of books for Captain Hatton (MS. iii. 14) these works are more fully described as *Scena Letteraria de' Scrittori Bergamoschi* and *Ateneo dei Letterati Milanesi*.

shall make it my business to get an opportunity of being my self by (for your remarks on it) at your perusing it.

In the mean time, that I may give you a little taste how I spend my hours here in the absence of Captain Hatton, pray know that I am in great want of your help and my friend Mr Evelyn's (if he were in the way) how to come at the history of birds' nests, if any such was ever wrott; as from what has been shown me of that order of architecture since my coming hither, there seems to be a great deal of matter offered for reflection upon that subject, and very glade I should therefore be to know it, if any body has medled with it, and who. And whither should I go for information herein but to your self and our learned Sylvester?[1]

As to my own health, the welcomest account I can give of it to my self is, that I am not without encouragement to hope I may yet a little longer enjoy the honour of being reckoned here among the rest of *your most humble and obedient servants.*

S. P.

Mrs Skinner desires the same title, and both of us with all respect, from our honoured Lady.

245 [MS. ii. 156]. Mr Pepys to Mr Bowdler [*Copy*].

*Clapham, June* 24, 1700.

Sir,—After very many thanks for my share in the kindness of you and your Lady's late visits, my nephew has given me occasion of troubling you in what, I doubt not, you have already had some advice of from my friend his fellow-traveller Mr Martin; namely, of a small interest that he or I have in a roll of Mr Martin's marked M No. O, loaded on the *Robert Bonadventure*, Robert Tisdale commander, from Leghorn, consisting of part of the books, prints, etc., that he has been purchasing for me at Rome. My request is that you will please to let me have the benefit of your care on behalf of the said box, it being consigned to you for what you shall meet

[1] Possibly Matthew Sylvester, the nonconformist divine, who was Richard Baxter's literary executor.

with relating to me in it. With which, kissing your Lady's hands and your own, I rest, Your affectionate and humble servant, S. P.

246 [MS. ii. 157]. Mr Bowdler to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*June* 24, 1700.

Honoured Sir,—The enclosed is my brother Martin's letter, which I designed you ever since I had it, but that, with other things, I have neglected by a most violent pain in my teeth for a fortnight past. I hope to gett into the City to morrow, and learne when the ship may be expected, though wee are safe under the care of Mr George Jackson, to whome the case is consigned, and as soon as ever I have it you shall have the most early notice of it. The Deane of Worcester[1] is your humble servant. My wife desires to have her humble service to Madam Skynner, and I am, Your obedient and most humble servant, Tho. Bowdler.

247 [MS. ii. 158]. Mr Pepys to Mr Bowdler [*Copy*].

*Clapham, June* 28, 1700.

Sir,—I very greatly thanke you for the kindness of your answer to my late motion to you about my nephew's merchandize, and am fully at rest concerning it.

I have much more thanks to return you for the pleasure you have presented me with in the sight of your very ingenious brother Mr Martin's letter; the style as well as matter of it showing what greater things his family and friends have ground to expect from him, God favouring him with life. Which I shall heartily pray for, and in the mean time congratulate my excellent friends in Rood-Lane, and your self, etc., with the happy expectation of.

Mrs Skynner is very sensible of your Ladie's respect, and joyns her most humble services with mine to her. I am

[1] The reference is probably to Pepys's friend Dr George Hickes, who had been deprived of the Deanery of Worcester as a nonjuror in 1690.

also, with great truth, Your most affectionate and humble servant,

S. P.

Pray let Mr Dean of Worcester have my humblest services too, and tell him that I respite my writing to him for something I suddenly expect upon one or two of the articles he referrs me to further enquiry upon.

248 [MS. ii. 160]. Mr Pepys to the Dean of York [*Copy*].

*Clapham, June 28, 1700.*

Dear Sir, —All I have to return to your last is the telling you (what is no new thing between you and me) that I am truly edified from every line of it, and accordingly tender you all the acknowledgments due to you for it.

For my cousin your son,[1] if there be indeed any ground for what you take notice of from me towards him, I assure you he owes the least share of it to our cousinship though that be no small pleasure to me), his genius, temper, and early advancements in Learning being alone sufficient to make me his lover. Which I so far truly am, as to have taken it not a little to heart you should, on no stronger inducements than what (at least) they appear to me, decline the giving him the benefit of a juncture that can never be had again in his time for acquiring a lustre to his other attainments, and that not an unusefull one, that nothing but travel can procure him, nor that neither at any time so consummately as the circumstance of the Jubilee rendred this. And this I speak with the more assurance as well as concernment, from the evidence I have already (to my great pleasure) had of it in my nephew, and the much more I have to hope for from him in the ministrations you speak of relating to my books, studys, and ease, at his return; and your yet more pressing reflexion upon the Hand to be thought on for the first, when I enter upon my own last journey. I rest, Reverend Sir, Your most affectionate kinsman and humble servant,

S. P.

[1] See note on p. 177 above.

Mr Hewer and Mrs Skynner salute you with their most humble services from hence, where you are not seldom remembred by some or other of our philosophicall friends my kind visitants.

249 [MS. ii. 161]. Mr Pepys to Mr Roger Gale [*Copy*].

*Clapham, June* 28, 1700.

Dear Cousin,[1]—Though my servant has assured me of his having long since put your precious manuscript safely into the hands he first received it from, yet I am too much concerned for that safety not to wish my self secured of its being well returned to yours, and therefore shall at your leisure ask one line for the setting me at rest therein.

I have lately received a very kind letter from my cousin your father, congratulating me in my recovery. Wherein also he being pleased to mix some favourable mentions of my nephew, with wishes of his return for the sake of the satisfaction and use he thinks he might be of to me in my present retirement, I have taken rise from it to say something concerning you in a letter I have just now wrott him; and because I have done it with a little zeal, and that the thoughts are still warm in me, I send you a copy of it; remaining, with perfect truth, Good Cousin, Your most humble servant, S. P.

You have heard (I doubt not) and lament as I do, the unaccountable fate of Mr Creech.[2]

250 [MS. ii. 162]. Mr James Houblon to Mr Pepys [*Holograph*].

*Saturday, June* 29, 1700,
4 *in the afternoon.*

Sir,—Mr Hewer gave me a memorandum of a box that was to be sent you from Legorne. The ship he mentiond it was

[1] See note on p. 177 above.
[2] Thomas Creech the translator had just committed suicide.

to be loaden upon is not yet arrived; when she do's I will make inquiry after your adventure and take due care of it. If you can, give me the perticulars of its contents; 'twill be necessary for the better passing it at the Custom house.

I am much concernd for your disorder in your eyes. My father commands me to return his most humble thanks for your kind inquiry after him, and to tell you he finds himself something better, which gives him hopes of conquering his disease[1] without following the Dr's prescriptions, and renders fruitless all our indeavours to perswade him to it.

Sir, I agree with you that Marseilles is the next likeliest place for your letters to meet Mr Jackson.

Pardon this hasty scrible, and beleive me, what I am with great respect, Sir, Your most affectionate and obedient humble servant,

JAMES HOUBLON, JR.

251 [MS. iii. 19]. MR THOMAS HENDERSON[2] TO MR PEPYS [*Holograph*].

[*June*, 1700.]

HONOURED SIR,—I have now for some little time had the honour to serve you, and should be glad to continue so to do, but I understand there is a conspiracy on foot by some persons in the house to ruin my reputation, endeavouring to charge me with theft; which I would have acquainted you with three weeks ago, but taking the advice of the person who recommended me, he disswaded me from it. Nevertheless, (though I highly esteem his judgment seeing that there will be no end of their plotting so long as I keep silence, I thought it the safest way, although perhaps not the most prudent, to acquaint you with it betimes, that a stopp may be put to such proceedings for the future. But if that cannot be done, I desire to be dismissed. I am, with the deepest respect, Honoured Sir, Your most obedient and most dutifull servant,

THO. HENDERSON.

[1] MS. "decease."

[2] Pepys's clerk. A good many of the copied letters in this Collection are in his singularly neat and legible hand.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
NEILL AND CO., LTD.,
EDINBURGH.

2 mo
1925

Dominican College Library
San Rafael, California

See Date When Due Below

AUG 30 1929
OCT 27 1929
JUL 8 1940
MAR 29
APR 3 '53
APR 24 1990
MAY 9 1990

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
3 3645 00036162 9
17714
DA 447 .P4 A6 1926 v.1
Pepys, Samuel, 1633-1703.
Private correspondence and miscellaneous papers
Dominican College Library
San Rafael, California

Y0-ACB-104